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THE AFFAIR OF ANAGNI

The incidents of the pontificate of Boniface VIII mark important steps in the transition from the Middle Ages to modern times. In the closing years of the thirteenth century the ideal of medieval imperialism clashed with the reality of growing nationalism and the conflict of the Pope with Philip the Fair, of France, became the climax of a struggle in which the Anagni incident was the dramatic dénouement. Ordinarily that affair is regarded as part of the bold policy adopted by the French king and his advisers and its larger results were in keeping with that policy. But those results were fortuitous and a study of the details brings one to the conclusion that the affair ought rather to be regarded as an incident in Italian politics. Looked at as the final act in the struggle between Boniface and the Colonna it becomes more intelligible than considered as the culmination of the policy which included the embargo on precious metals and the calling of the Estates General. That Philip's government was disposed to dabble in the broils and intrigues of the Patrimony is obvious. And remembrance of the revolt of the Colonna which had made such demands on the Pope's powers in 1297 that he withdrew the bull "Clericis Laicos" and assumed a friendly attitude towards France made it advisable to stir up new troubles in 1303 in order again to distract Boniface from pushing his dispute with the king. Beginning, then, with an attempt to foment rebellion in papal territory, the French agent became involved in an effort of Sciarra Colonna to regain his family's lands and to take personal revenge on the Pope.[1]

[1] For the subject of the war of the Colonna and bibliography thereon see LUDWIG MOHLER, *Die Kardinale Jakob und Peter Colonna. Ein Beitrage zur Geschichte des Zeitalters Boniface VIII.* Paderborn, 1914. *(Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiete der Geschichte in Verbindung mit ihrem historischen Institut in Rom, herausgegeben von der Görres-Gesellschaft,* XVII Band). MOHLER more cautiously says, "so kommen wir zu dem Schluss, dasz die Colonna auch an diesen Attentat eine Mitschuld trifft, wenn nicht gar von ihnen irgend-welche Anregung dazu ausging." p. 121.

After the subjection of the Colonna in 1298, Boniface could reasonably suppose that he had humbled the arrogance of the Roman nobility. His crusade against those powerful leaders of the Ghibellines had wasted their patrimonial estates, and literally leveled the family stronghold to the ground. The two Cardinals, Jacopo and Piero Colonna, uncle and nephew, heads of the unfriendly faction in the sacred college, were excommunicated, deprived of their spiritual and temporal honors, and even deposed from their cardinalates. The secular heads of the family, Agapit, Stephen and Jacopo, better known as "Sciarra" (the brawler), were deprived of their lands and goods. Humiliating submission after the capture of Palestrina had resulted in a temporary lifting of the papal ban, but subsequent flight brought about a second condemnation. The incident in this struggle which points directly to future events was the appeal of the Colonna to a council to decide whether Boniface held the Papacy legitimately.[2] They claimed that the abdication of Pope Celestine was invalid and that consequently his successor was an usurper. A "libellus" to this effect was widely disseminated and was given serious consideration by the University of Paris. The demand was the more significant because it emanated from members of the sacred college. It is probably the precedent for the French appeal a few years later, for the refugee cardinals were favorably received at the French court.

As part of his policy of crippling the turbulent Italian nobility the Pope was building up a principality at the expense of the neighboring baronage, both as temporal bulwark for the Papal power and as a means of aggrandizement for the family of the Gaëtani. Extensive use of Papal patronage enabled him to raise his relatives to important positions in Church and State, and liberal expenditure of Papal treasure succeeded in creating a barony which dominated the Patrimony. The new State, stretching from Subiaco to Ceprano, was placed in the hands of the Pope's nephew, Piero Gaëtani, popularly known as the

[2] PIERRE DUPUY, *Histoire du différend d'entre le pape Boniface VIII et Philippe le Bel*, Paris, 1655, pp. 34-38. This is a collection of the most important official documents relative to the struggle. It is here that the memorials of NOGARET in regard to his participation in the affair at Anagni are to be found.

"Marquis." This sudden elevation of an obscure family to a position of pre-eminence excited the fear and hatred of the Campanian aristocracy which saw its own feudal semi-independence seriously threatened. Consequently, though outwardly the Pope's position in the Patrimony seemed unusually secure, in reality there was a conglomerate of hostile forces each waiting a chance to assert itself. The Latin nobles, cowed by the fall of the Colonna were apprehensive for themselves; the supporters of the "Celestine theory" held that Boniface was an illegal Pope; and even the Cardinals were indignant at the novelty of seeing two of their number deposed. By the early part of 1303 the Colonna found the times favorable for agitation in France because the royal policy had come under the direction of William of Nogaret, an enemy to the Pope. The whole of the subsequent proceedings seems to point to the influence of the Papal exiles. The appeal to a council, the secret journey of Nogaret to Italy, the assault on the Pope's person, were innovations in French policy which bear an Italian tinge, and their results accrued to the immediate benefit of the Roman nobility. On March 12, 1303, Nogaret appeared before an assembly in the Louvre and laid before it a series of charges against Boniface which are reminiscent of the Colonna manifesto. The principal accusation was that Boniface had unlawfully replaced Celestine on the Papal throne. Incidentally the Pope was accused of simony, heresy, and other vices to give color to the main charge. The King was called upon to convoke a general council of the Church to judge Boniface and elect a new Pope. For this purpose the arrest of the Pope was advocated ("persona dicti flagitiosi posita in custodia") and the appointment of an administrator for the Papacy during the vacancy.[3] Three months later a second memorial appeared repeating and elaborating the charges against the Pope even more in the Colonna manner.[4]

This was followed by a more vigorous and daring enterprise on the part of Nogaret and the Italian exiles. Some time between March and June, 1303, Nogaret, accompanied by one of the King's financial agents, a Florentine, Musciatto Guidi de

[3] DUPUY, pp. 56-9.
[4] MOHLER, pp. 116-118.

Franzesi (called by the French "Mouchet"), and two Frenchmen, left France for Italy. Their destination was Florence, where they had letters of credit on the Perruzi bank. From there they proceeded to the castle of Staggia in Sienese territory, a place belonging to Musciatto, and made that their headquarters.[5] To believe that these four men came to Italy with the express purpose of seizing the Pope in the midst of the Papal States and of carrying him a prisoner to France, there to await trial by a future council, is impossible. It seems more reasonable to suppose that Nogaret's mission was the culmination of a policy of intrigue which had been in progress for some time. Musciatto and his brother Biccio had been advancing royal interests in Tuscany. Already French agents were busy in the Patrimony and the Campagna, but no tangible advantage had been obtained. Probably Nogaret came south to stimulate this secret activity in the hope of obtaining definite results in the form of an uprising against Boniface.

The commission under which Nogaret and his associates acted authorized them to go to certain places ("ad certas partes") for the purpose of carrying on some business for the King ("pro quibusdam nostris negotiis"). To each one was given full and free power to enter into relations in the King's name with any persons, ecclesiastical, noble, or otherwise, and to contract alliances or incur such obligations as they should see fit.[6] Such a broad commission clearly indicates a policy of opportunism. Boniface had come to terms with Philip in 1297 because of his more pressing troubles in Italy. If, therefore, these four French agitators, by the use of intrigue and money, could stir up active hostility to the Pope in his own dominions they would materially advance the royal interests in the diplomatic struggle with the Papacy. It was well enough known that Papal Italy was rife with discontent. The scheme for a council appears rather as a diplomatic threat than as a serious proposal. But if such a de-

[5] ROBERT HOLTZMANN, *Wilhelm von Nogaret, Rat und Grossiegelbewahrer Philipps des Schönen von Frankreich*, Freiberg, 1898, p. 60. A complete list of sources on this subject will be found here. J. I. I. von DÖLLINGER, *Addresses on Historical and Literary Subjects*, London, 1894, p. 183. ERNEST RENAN, *Etudes sur la Politique Religeuse du regne de Philippe le Bel., Paris*, 1899, pp. 24-7.

[6] DUPUY, p. 175.

mand could be stirred up in Italy along with civil war the King would have a more powerful leverage against his opponent.

Nogaret himself gives a brief account of his negotiations in Italy. He avers that he tried in vain to present formally the French indictment and demand for a council to the Pope but was unable to secure access to him or to the Cardinals.[7] Just how far this can be credited is hard to say. Nogaret's account naturally presents his own actions in as harmless a light as possible, but the fact that it was written for the eyes of those who were closely connected with the whole struggle on the Papal side and were even present at Anagni[8] must have restrained him from telling actual falsehoods. It is very probable that Nogaret attempted some negotiation with the Papal court. It would add color to the French agitation if the Pope could be shown obdurate in his refusal to vindicate himself before the assembled Church. It would rob him of the plea that no formal demand for a council had been made to him. But that a mission so begun was intended to culminate in an attack on the Pope's person seems highly improbable. France was not eager for a council for the good of the Church; what Philip wanted was an advantageous understanding with the Pope and the imminence of pro-conciliar agitation in Italy might be calculated to help in bringing Boniface to a resumption of diplomatic relations.

Failing in his approaches towards the Pope, Nogaret turned to the other Italian powers in an attempt to excite them against the usurpation of Boniface. His negotiations with Charles II, of Anjou, King of Naples, were fruitless. The Papacy, because of the Sicilian dispute with Aragon being a necessary ally for Naples, Charles, without being friendly to Boniface, was in no position to support the schemes of his French kinsmen. An attempt to stir up the Roman nobility was equally barren of results. They were afraid of Boniface and held back. The fall of the Colonna and the Jubilee of 1300 had so emphasized the apparent power of the Pope that much as the Papal baronage might hate Boniface they had a well developed fear of his "austeritas."[9] The actual attack can hardly be disassociated

[7] DUPUY, p. 246.
[8] Ibid, p. 472. The future Benedict XI was an eye-witness of the assault.
[9] Ibid, p. 441.

from the Colonna's agitation among the lords of Latium, [10] an agitation with the same general aim as Nogaret's, namely trouble for the Pope, but one which was more likely to interest itself with a coup de main, opportunity for which was afforded by the Pope's presence at Anagni. That it was the French plan to form a conspiracy of a few local nobles, abduct Boniface, and carry him to France is unbelievable. The assault itself was probably planned only a few days before its execution and either precipitated by the Pope's intention to issue the Bull "Super Petri Solio," or carried out by the Colonna and their friends in the course of their personal feud. It was these Italians who would reap the immediate advantages. With Boniface and the Marquis dead or prisoners the new principality of the latter would go to pieces and the local nobles would recover their castles. [11]

Nogaret insists, sometimes in rather vague terms, that the intention of the Pope to issue a Bull [12] against the King was what determined him, as the King's agent, to adopt extreme measures. [13] In that Bull Boniface assumed that Philip was already excommunicate under the general anathema of the Bull "Unam Sanctam," and that being so he had been contumacious in his refusal of absolution at the hands of the Papal legate. He had despitefully used Papal envoys, maltreated ecclesiastics, and associated with the excommunicate Colonna. For all these reasons the Pope claimed there was no doubt that Philip was excommunicate. His subjects, consequently, released from their oaths of fidelity, need no longer keep faith with him. [14] For so serious a sentence and from Boniface, the Bull is worded rather mildly and is devoted more to a recitation of the King's "crimes" than to the sentence of condemnation. In all probability it was intended more as a diplomatic stroke than as an actual means of involving Philip in difficulties. The Pope lacked the assistance

[10] RAYNALDUS, "*Annales Ecclesiastici*," *Baronius*, (1749), IV, 356, Note.

[11] This is the result mentioned in one of the eye-witness accounts of the affair, a letter written very shortly after the assault and found at Grenoble, (ed. DIGARD, *Revue des Questions Historiques*, XLIII, p. 559, ff.). Referred to as "Grenoble Account."

[12] DUPUY, p. 246.

[13] Ibid, pp. 181-6. Perhaps we have here a reflection of the arguments of Sciarra Colonna seeking French participation in his violent act of revenge.

[14] Ibid, p. 185.

of any powerful secular prince for carrying such a sentence to its logical conclusion but he could hope, perhaps, that the prestige which clung to such a condemnation would frighten the French King.

Even this reason for the Anagni episode would be insufficient were it not for the association of Nogaret with Sciarra Colonna. The latter was a rash, desperate man bent on extorting from the Pope the restoration of his family, and on taking personal vengeance upon Boniface. Certainly popular opinion, as reflected in the French and Italian chronicles, regarded the affair as the work of the Colonna supported by French money.[15] How long Sciarra had planned such a move we cannot say. Nogaret asserts that he himself undertook stringent measures only five days before the assault.[16] It seems possible to infer that the plans for attack were formulated without Nogaret having any intention of participating himself, but that the Campanian barons, unwilling to brave the Papal ban unsupported, refused to undertake the expedition except with the open recognition of France and under the leadership of the French agent.[17] Perhaps, too, Nogaret feared for the personal safety of the Pope should the attack prove successful. It was not in the French interest that Boniface should be killed by the King's allies and Nogaret is said to have saved the Pope from the vengeance of the infuriated Sciarra.[18]

Preparations for the attack had been carried on hurriedly. The time was short and only a small company from the immediate neighborhood was gathered together.[19] Already negotia-

[15] *Continuatio Chronici Guillelmi de Nangiaco (Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Paris, 1869, (XX, 589); *Chroniques de Saint-Denis depuis* 1285, *jusqu'en* 1328, (Ibid., XX, 674); *Continuatio Girardi de Fracheto* (Ibid., XXI, 22); *Excerpta e Memoriali Historiarum auctore* JOHANNE PARISIENSI (Ibid., XXI, 641); *E Floribus Chronicorum*, etc., auctore BERNARDO GUIDONIS (Ibid., XXI, 713); *Fragment d'un Chronique anonyme* (Ibid., XXI, 148); *Fragment de chronique concernant spécialment le règne du pape Boniface* VIII (Bulletin des Comités Historiques, Histoire IV, 57, 1853). *Chronicon fratris Francisci Pipini Bononiensis* (Muratori, IX, 740, 744); *Ferreti Vincentini Historia* (Ibid., IX, 1002-3); *Ptolomaei Lucensis Historia Ecclesiastica* (Ibid., XI, 1221-23).

[16] DUPUY, p. 246, No. 44.

[17] Ibid, p. 441.

[18] *Chroniques de Saint-Denis*, op. cit., p. 674.

[19] DUPUY, p. 246, No. 45.

tions had been opened with citizens in Anagni. Some of the nobles there were relatives of the Colonna [20] and doubtless not only sympathized with that family but probably also had fears of being themselves swallowed up in the Papal marquisate. Cardinal Napoleon Orsini, a brother-in-law of Sciarra, and Cardinal Richard of Siena, were also ready to assist the attacking party. Indeed it is said that Sciarra took refuge with Cardinal Orsini at the castle of Marino and that the two planned the assault before they associated themselves with Nogaret. [21] Ferentino was the rendezvous and here on the night of September 6, 1303, through the agency of the podesta Raynald of Supino, the local barons were assembled to join Nogaret and Sciarra. [22]

In the gray dawn of Saturday, September 7, 1303, the expedition arrived before Anagni. Friends within opened the gates and the little army headed by Nogaret carrying the banner of France and accompanied by Sciarra Colonna entered the town. As soon as they were inside, raising the cry, "Long live the King of France and the Colonna," [23] they made straight for the Papal palace [24] in hope of surprising it. The principal street, however, led by the palace of the Marquis, who had evidently been warned, for Sciarra and his followers found the way barricaded with benches and other impedimenta, while the houses along the road were fortified and ready for defense. Piero Gaëtani, his sons and the lord of Conticelli, heading the resistance, [25] manned the palaces and the surrounding buildings with their servants. These shot at the attacking party with bows and arbalasts, and threw stones from the roofs, killing and wounding many. [26]

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[20] "Grenoble account," pp. 559-60.

[21] FERRETI VICENTINI, *Historia*, *Muratori*, IX, 1005.

[22] DUPUY, p. 175.

[23] "Grenoble Account," p. 559.

[24] DUPUY, p. 247, No. 46.

[25] Ibid, p. 311, No. 33.

[26] Ibid, pp. 247, 443. "Curtisan," p. 511. The most detailed account of the whole affair is a letter written by a monk attached to the Papal court who calls himself a "curtisan." It is a strictly contemporary, eye-witness account, hostile to the French party and the Colonna. The letter was partly copied into Rishanger's chronicle ("Chronica Monasterii S. Albania," ed. H. S. Riley, Rolls Series, London, 1865). It is edited and published in full in the Revue des Questiones Historiques XI, pp. 511ff.

The noise of the tumult aroused the townsmen, who threw open doors and windows, and ran wildly into the streets to find the cause of the clamor. It soon spread about that Sciarra Colonna, "brother" [27] of the two excommunicated Cardinals, had obtained a large force from the King of France and had come to take the Pope and put him to death. [28] In the meantime the hoped-for surprise had proved a failure. The attacking party, although it had carried the barricades, [29] was unable to break into the palaces of the Pope and Marquis. It did force entrance into the residences of three Cardinals, known friends of the Pope, and looted the rooms. The Cardinals themselves barely escaped with their lives by the back way ("per latrinam") and fled in disguise to the Pope's palace. [30] Meanwhile Nogaret had summoned the citizens into the market place and informed them that the assault was being made to save the integrity of the Church "which Boniface held captive," and sought their aid in this pious undertaking. [31] The aristocracy and the chief members of the commune readily assented to this. Under the leadership of Adenulph the capitan, a mortal enemy of the Pope, they ranged themselves under the banner of the Church and joined the invaders with the forces of the town. The cry was raised "Long live the King of France and the Colonna. Death to the Pope and the Marquis!" and the attack renewed with vigor. [32]

It is interesting to note that the fact that there were two attacks, one before and one after the coalition with the Anagniotes, has been generally ignored in accounts of the affair, but the sources seem clearly to indicate this. Nogaret, whose items are to all appearances arranged chronologically, mentions first the attack on the Marquis and then the summoning of the people. He expressly states that as soon as the city was entered they made for the Papal palace "non declinando ad dextram, vel sinistram." [33] The curtisan's account is similar [34] That the

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[27] He was not their brother, but the curtisan always calls him such and it was apparently the popular conception.

[28] "Curtisan," p. 511.

[29] *Ibid*, p. 512.

[30] *Ibid*, p. 512; "Grenoble Account," p. 560.

[31] DUPUY, p. 247, No. 48.

[32] "Grenoble Account," p. 559.

[33] DUPUY, p. 247, Nos. 46-8.

[34] "Curtisan," p. 512.

attacking party should so act is reasonable even though it had allies within the town. If the object of the attack could be achieved independently of the local powers the invaders could act freely in their own interests. Indeed it was the conflict of the plans of Nogaret and Sciarra with those of the local leaders which brought the expedition to nought. Probably, then, the appeal to the townsmen was the result of the Marquis' stubborn resistance.

There seems to be little room for doubt that Nogaret's alliance was with the nobles, and that the band which joined in the attack was composed mainly of the aristocracy. The people as a whole, then, did not take part in the assault, while it was the "populus" as distinct from the commune which took the lead in the rescue, with the aristocracy at least holding aloof. The distinction in terminology made by all the contemporary authorities is too apparent to be overlooked. Nogaret says that the "maiores" citizens helped in the attack.[35] The "Grenoble account" relates that the knights and householders ("milites et domicelli") joined the invaders.[36] In Raynaldus the local of allies are called "optimatibus Anagninis" and the narrator adds that it was with them that the Bishop of Ostia concluded peace when the affair was over and to them that the Pope granted pardon.[37] The "curtisan" says nothing about the participation of the Anagniotes in the assault. According to him the capitan, Adenulph, and three or four neighboring barons, all mortal enemies of the Pope, attached themselves to Sciarra. He does, however, state that the "maiores totius populi" took the oath of obedience and fidelity to the capitan.[38] The election of Adenulph shows the existence in Anagni of hostility to the Pope and may have been part of the schemes of Cardinal Orsini and Sciarra.

The Pope's position was now decidedly precarious, for the success of the attack was only a matter of time. Negotiation was a last resort with the possible hope that in the meantime the people might be won to the Papal side. Boniface therefore sought a truce from Sciarra which the latter granted until 3 o'clock in

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[35] DUPUY, p. 247, No. 48.
[36] "Grenoble Account," p. 559.
[37] RAYNALDUS IV, 356, Note.
[38] "Curtisan," p. 512.

the afternoon. It was only 6 o'clock, [39] but Sciarra, feeling himself master of the situation, could afford to give the Pope a few hours. The respite offered Boniface a chance to try his last expedients. Secret agents went among the people promising great things if they would come to the Pope's rescue. From the "curtisan's" account it seems that the people, over-awed by the communal aristocracy, though pro-Papal in sentiment, were unwilling to range themselves against the forces of the town which were following the capitan. [40] The Pope's agents were obliged to return with news that nothing could be done because supreme authority in the town had been lodged with Adenulph. [41]

The failure of his negotiations with the populace forced Boniface to treat with Sciarra. Sending to the Colonna leader he offered to make amends, with the concurrence of the Cardinals, for the injuries done that family. But Sciarra was not in a mood to talk of amends. He proudly sent back word that unless the two Cardinals Colonna were fully restored to their temporal and spiritual powers, and all their family and kin reinstated in their former possessions and honors he would put the Pope to death. He further added as an ultimatum that after the restoration of the Colonna Boniface should renounce the Papacy and submit himself to Sciarra's mercy. Truly these terms do not sound like those of an agent from the King of France! Well indeed might the Pope groan when he heard them and cry "Woe is me! This is a hard saying." [42] Negotiations were carried on throughout the truce, but Sciarra's obdurate insistence upon his impossible demands precluded all chance of agreement. [43] So when the truce expired, about 3 o'clock, Sciarra himself eagerly gave the command for renewing the attack and his followers again rushed to the assault of the two palaces.

Situated next to the Papal palace and abutting closely upon it was the principal church of Anagni, dedicated to the Holy Virgin. Some of the clergy had taken refuge there during the tumult and had locked the doors. Determined to obtain an additional point of attack against the palace the soldiers set fire to

[39] Ibid., p. 512.
[40] Ibid., p. 513.
[41] Ibid., p. 516.
[42] "Curtisan," p. 513.
[43] Ibid.

the church doors and burned them away. In the rush which followed their collapse the refugees were despoiled of such weapons and objects of value as they had, [44] but the church itself was not molested. [45] Meanwhile the attack on the palace of the Marquis had been pushed so vigorously that further resistance became impossible. Opening negotiations with Sciarra and Adenulph, Piero Gaëtani surrendered on condition that his own life and the lives of his sons and servants be spared. Two of his sons tried to escape in disguise but were seized and thrown into prison. [45*] The Pope wept bitterly when he heard of this and gave himself up for lost. The attacking force could now concentrate its energies on the Papal palace. The doors and windows had been battered in and the building set on fire when the defenders of one gate capitulated, [46] affording the assailants an entrance. [47] Immediately there was a rush for the Pope and with a great uproar the crowd burst into his chamber. [48] Boniface was found lying on a bed, [49] dressed in his Papal robes, holding a Crucifix tightly in his hands and kissing it fervently. [50] Insults and threats were hurled at him—robber, heretic, criminal, false Pope, deserving of death for the wrongs done to the Colonna and their kinsmen. [51] Many of the soldiers even struck him. [52]

The whole palace was now in an uproar. All resistance ceased. The Pope's attendants abandoned him. Only Cardinal Ispani, Bishop of Ostia, [53] Brother Nicolas Boccasini, the future Benedict XI, [54] and one other remained with him. [55] Even his nephew, Cardinal Francesco, fled, and, according to Nogaret,

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[44] Ibid., p. 514.

[45] "Grenoble Account," p. 560.

[45*] "Curtisan," p. 514.

[46] "*Orvieto Chronicle*," p. 351. This is a contemporary account by a person apparently well informed, but hostile to Boniface. Published by Döllinger in *Beitrage zur politischen, kirklichen und cultur-Geschichte des sechs letzen Jahrhunderte*. III Band, pp. 347-353; Vienna, 1882.

[47] "Curtisan," p. 514.

[48] DUPUY, p. 247, No. 50.

[49] "*Orvieto Chronicle*," p. 352.

[50] DUPUY, p. 402.

[51] *Fragment de Chronique*, p. 60.

[52] "Curtisan," p. 514.

[53] RAYNALDUS, IV, 357.

[54] DUPUY, p. 472.

[55] "Curtisan," p. 515. "Grenoble Account," p. 559.

set the example of plundering the Papal treasure which the domestics quickly followed.[56] The followers of Sciarra and the Anagniotes, ranging through the building, seized everything of value. Archives were broken open, charters and diplomas torn to pieces.[57] Gold and silver vessels, vestments and ornaments were carried off before the Pope's very eyes, but he remained unmoved and indifferent, merely quoting "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord."[58] Not even the sacred character of relics could save them from plunder for the sake of their setting, and one pious chronicler especially mentions a vessel containing the milk of the Blessed Virgin which was then emptied.[59] In the confusion of the assault and sack the Archbishop of Gran is said to have been killed,[60] while the remnant of the defenders were either cut down or driven from the palace. The palaces of the Marquis and the Bishop of Palma were also looted along with the bank of the Spini, and Simon Gerard, the Pope's banker, barely escaped with his life.[61]

When Nogaret pushed his way into the Pope's room he found everything in confusion.[63] To the threats and insults of the soldiers Boniface made no reply, but to their constant demands to abdicate he returned a steadfast refusal. When threatened with death if he remained obstinate he offered his head saying in the vernacular, "Here is my head. Here is my neck," and added that he would never renounce the Papacy as long as he lived. Sciarra wanted to kill the Pope and is even said to have struck at him with his dagger but to have been forcibly restrained by Nogaret.[64] The latter certainly claims all the credit for defending the Pope's person and asserts that he exercised every care to keep him from bodily harm.[65] It was certainly very much in his interest to prevent the murder of the head of Christendom by men who were following the banner of France. Nogaret's

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[56] DUPUY, p. 311, No. 30.
[57] Ibid., p. 472.
[58] "Curtisan," p. 515.
[59] *Istorie Pistolesi* (ed. Biscioni, 1845), p. 426.
[60] DUPUY, p. 472.
[61] "Curtisan," p. 515. "Grenoble Account," p. 560.
[63] DUPUY, p. 247, No. 51.
[64] "Curtisan," p. 515. *Chronique de Saint-Denis* (*Recueil*, XX, 674).
[65] DUPUY, p. 247, No. 52.

position in the expedition seems to have been rather anomalous. He was the figure-head who rode in advance with the French banner and gave the undertaking its high moral tone. Sciarra was the real leader. It was he who directed the attack and his ultimatum to the Pope shows that his aims were personal and Italian rather than French. The other members of the expedition looked to him as their chief and took their cue from him. They regarded the affair as an incident in the war between the Colonna and Boniface. As the representative of a powerful ally Nogaret would have some influence over Sciarra, but over the others he had little or no control, as he repeatedly protests. [66]

True to his mission and to his legal training Nogaret laid before Boniface the formal charges made against him at Paris and called upon him to summon a council. [67] Boniface refused. What, then, was to be done with him? Nogaret took the Pope into his personal custody and remained in the same room with him from Saturday until Monday while Raynald of Supino who was in French employ [68] kept guard over the door with a body of soldiers. [69] Now that the Pope was a prisoner, there was a division of opinion as to how he should be treated. Sciarra wanted to put him to death. Nogaret and others wished to take him a prisoner to France. There can hardly be better proof of the sudden conception and hurried preparation of the assault than the fact that no definite line of action in case of success had been formulated. Nogaret asserts that he had been ordered to bring Boniface to France and that he was prepared to do so, but he mentions the fact only once in his numerous memorials and that in one of the later ones; he puts no stress upon it and gives no intimation as to how he intended to accomplish it, so we cannot help wondering how specific his orders were. [70] Still, a third party made up of the nobles of Anagni, were very unwilling that Boniface should be removed from the town. [71] It was this conflict of opinions and interests which prevented any action on the part of the Pope's enemies. Nogaret was in possession of Boni-

[66] DUPUY, p. 247, No. 49; p. 257; p. 311, No. 31.
[67] Ibid, p. 247, No. 53; pp. 256-7; p. 443.
[68] Ibid, p. 531, No. 33; p. 175.
[69] "Curtisan," p. 515; "Grenoble Account," p. 560.
[70] DUPUY, p. 248, No. 54.
[71] "Grenoble Account," p. 560.

face's person, but he was so placed that he could not hope successfully to carry his prisoner to France. Because of his official position he felt responsible for the Pope's safety and even refused to allow any but his own servants to feed the old man for fear of poison.[72] He also tried to get in touch with the Cardinals in order to open negotiations, since the captive Pontiff refused to consider his proposals, preferring to court martyrdom, but his endeavors were without success.[73]

Meanwhile other forces were being put in motion. We have already noted that the local nobles were unwilling that the Pope be carried away, and we find the people alleging that their attack is undertaken to prevent such action.[74] During the assault there had been secret pro-Papal agitation among the populace. Large and unorganized bodies of men cannot be stirred to action suddenly, hence the failure to obtain popular support for the defense of the palace. Continued agitation, however, might bring results. Sciarra and the local leaders were no longer in accord and the latter may have been abettors if not instigators of the popular uprising. The speech quoted by the curtisan bears the ear-marks of an agitator working in the Pope's behalf. It was admitted that Boniface had committed many crimes in his life, but still he ought not to be put to death. "If the Pope should be killed here in this city among us, it would be said throughout the world that we were to blame for his death, the town would then be under an interdict and mass would never be celebrated here again. Furthermore, on this account all Christendom will rush upon us and we shall all be destroyed."[75] Whether the agitation was incited by the nobles of Anagni who found that they had been used by Sciarra, or by adherents of the Papal court who aroused the pious fears of the townsmen, cannot be said definitely, but a combination of the two seems very possible. Later chroniclers ascribe the organization of the rescue to the Bishop of Ostia, who gathered together his own retainers and called upon the people to follow him in expelling the strangers.[76] With these forces working in conjunction an attempt of the aristocracy

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[72] DUPUY, p. 257. "Grenoble Account," p. 560.
[73] DUPUY, p. 445.
[74] DUPUY, p. 445.
[75] Ibid.; "Curtisan," p. 516.
[76] PIPIN, p. 740; FERRETUS, p. 1005.

of Anagni to secure possession of the Pope might easily have been carried away by popular fervor into a reaction in his favor.

Early [77] Monday morning, September 9, the people raised the cry, "Long live the Pope. Death to the strangers!" [78] A rush was made for the palace, a way forced to the chamber where the Pope was confined, his guard overpowered and the Pope liberated. Several of the soldiers were killed. Raynald of Supino and his son were captured. Nogaret was wounded, but escaped in the confusion. [79] The whole band of invaders was driven out of the town and the banner of France, falling into the hands of the mob, was torn and trailed ignominiously in the mud by the patriotic citizens. [80].

From the French point of view the affair was a dismal failure. The issuing of the Bull "Super Petri Solio" had been momentarily prevented but there was no reason to suppose that the Pope would not issue it or something more serious now that he was free. Nogaret withdrew to Ferentino and hired the captain there to wage war on the Pope's relatives and the citizens of Anagni. [81] He could resume his former policy of intrigue and agitation in Italy, but the French cause would be handicapped by a loss of prestige and the horror which this indignity offered to the Vicar of Christ would excite throughout Christendom. To all appearances the affair must have looked like a fiasco, or worse, a blunder. [82] And even Sciarra must have felt that his French ally had cheated him out of his revenge.

The Pope, in the meantime, had been triumphantly conducted into the market-place, where he repeatedly gave thanks to God and to the people of Anagni for his deliverance from death. He made a speech to the citizens in which he pointed out the destitution he was in as a result of the looting of his palace and he offered God's blessing and his own together with absolution to those who relieved his needs. The populace greeted the speech

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[77] DUPUY, p. 248, No. 55.

[78] "Grenoble Account," p. 560.

[79] "Curtisan," p. 516; *"Orvieto Chronicle,"* p. 352.

[80] DUPUY, p. 248, No. 55; *"Orvieto Chronicle,"* p. 352.

[81] DUPUY, p. 175.

[82] BOUTARIC, *La France sous Philippe le Bel*, Paris, 1861, pp. 120-1; *Notices et Extraits de L'Academié des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, XX, pt. 2, p. 185.

with enthusiastic shouts of "Long live the Holy Father," and women vied with one another to provide him with food and drink. Indeed they were so liberal and so eager for the Papal blessing that the Pope's chamber was quickly filled with victuals and great quantities of wine were poured on the floor for want of vessels to receive it. Boniface then published a general absolution, excepting from it those who had plundered the church treasure or the palaces of the Cardinals unless they brought back the loot within three days.[83] He went even farther by protesting and publicly proclaiming that he wished to be at peace with the Colonna, that he was prepared to restore the two Cardinals to their temporal and spiritual honors, and that he pardoned those who had taken part in the assault.[84] The Bishop of Ostia is credited with having concluded a peace between the Pope and the nobles of Anagni under which the latter were pardoned for their share in the assault.[85] A few days afterward Boniface departed for Rome where, a month later, he died under circumstances which are obscure.

The only immediate beneficiaries of the affair were the Campanian nobles, for the principality of the Marquis promptly collapsed and the former lords resumed possession of the lands which they had been forced to sell to the Pope or the castles which he had taken from them.[86] The sudden death of Boniface soon after the assault robs the affair of any immediate results of its own from the French point of view. Subsequent events have made the affair appear as a French victory leading directly to the "Babylonian Captivity." It should, however, be remembered that this result was fortuitous and was unconnected with the purpose which the King and his counsellors had in view. As an attempt to bring Boniface to terms, which was apparently the purpose of Nogaret's mission, the assault was a failure. The French agent had allowed himself to become involved disastrously in a local political broil. In consequence, when the removal of Boniface occurred by happy accident, the French King

[83] "Curtisan," p. 518.
[84] DUPUY, p. 248, No. 56. *"Orvieto Chronicle,"* pp. 352-3.
[85] RAYNALDUS, IV, 356, Note.
[86] "Grenoble Account," p. 560; *"Orvieto Chronicle,"* p. 353.

was unable to pose as the vindicator of the Church against a usurper, as he had planned, but was instead branded with the stigma of sacrilege. This would have been serious in an earlier age, but the desperate condition of the Papacy and the apathy of Europe rendered it nil. It was great good fortune for Philip that the Pope fell into the hands of the Orsini at Rome and by becoming practically a prisoner was prevented from hurling anathemas against his enemies.

The real effects of the affair, the effects which influenced the future, were probably unpremeditated by the authors of the outrage. The assault demonstrated that mediaeval piety had given way to political expediency and national ambition, that sentimental considerations need no longer hinder the pursuit of royal policy. Even though the attack itself was regarded as an act of the Colonna, it was impossible to disregard the patronage which the King extended to the Colonna and the relation of their feud with Boniface to the struggle between France and the Pope. Closely connected with this was the palpable indication that the Papacy was without real temporal strength. A band of condottieri had proven to Christendom that the Papal pretensions to political domination were without temporal foundation. The Popes were dangerously insecure in the very heart of the Patrimony and they no longer had a champion. It must have been brought home very forcibly to Benedict XI and Clement V that the Papacy could not persevere in the policy of isolation which Boniface had forced upon it. The indifference of the princes of Europe to the outrage made it obvious that the Popes could no longer depend upon their prestige and their ability to manipulate international politics to secure the support of a European power. A new arrangement must be made, a new alliance formed or an old one revived. France was the natural ally. The Empire had been rendered impotent by internal discord and political humiliation. England was too distant. Of the secondary powers Aragon was hostile and Naples both unfriendly and unreliable. France, on the other hand, until the time of Boniface, had been the traditional friend of the Popes. Consequently the easiest and most advantageous course was to abandon Boniface's policy and come to terms with Philip. The King, on his part,

appreciated that he was master of the situation. There had been for some time a strong French party in the College of Cardinals upon whose friendliness he could rely. France did not need the Papacy, but the Papacy needed France as an ally and champion. Benedict XI might hesitate and Clement V might weakly struggle against French domination, but they were both delivered bound into Philip's hands by circumstances which they could not control. The real result, then, of the affair at Anagni was that it exposed the actual political status of the Popes and by this sudden exposure forced the Papacy to submit itself to France.

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ROMAN ITINERARIES

One of the greatest features of Roman civilization was the building of roads. The famous "Appian Way," the *Via Appia*, begun in B. C. 312, was not the first Roman road, but probably the one which inaugurated the systematic construction of highways. This activity continued and increased during the time of the Republic, but it gained still more intensity during the period of the Empire. Nor did it cease immediately when in consequence of the Migration of Nations the intellectual and political life of the Roman world had started on its path of decline. Thus arose the wonderful network of highways which connected all the important and many of the less important places of the then civilized world, and which served equally the soldier, the merchant and trader, the pleasure seeker, and the Apostle of the Glad Tidings of Jesus Christ.

As the number of travellers of all kinds increased, *Itineraries* or guide books were compiled, to give reliable advice to prospective voyagers. The few Itineraries, which have survived the ravages of time consist of dry lists of the names of cities together with the distances in miles between them. They told the traveller by what stations he could get from Rome to Milan, or from Autun to Marseilles, or from Athens to Constantinople. This information had been gathered from the reports of people who had actually made these trips, from official lists of travelling stations, from pre-existing guide books, etc.

The largest of the Itineraries still extant is the *Itinerarium Antonini*, at one time ascribed to one of the Antonine Emperors, though it is now sure that none of them could have had anything to do with its production. It is a collection of innumerable sectional routes, large and small, some counting four or five, others as many as forty stations. These routes are grouped, more or less, according to the principal parts of the Empire, as Gaul, Italy, Spain, Syria, etc. But although several thousands of names are thus enumerated, there is evidently no aiming at completeness or even at systematic correctness in the arrangement and co-ordination of the routes. Each route is treated individually. Thus there is one from Milan to Vienne, France, *per Alpes Graias*, another *per Alpes Cottias*. One leads from Milan to *Argentoratum* (Strassbourg). Another one, from Mi-

lan to *Moguntiacum* (Mainz), while passing through Strassburg does not simply incorporate the former but gives entirely different stations with the sole exception of Strassburg. For a journey from *Durocortorum* (Rheims) to *Divodurum* (Metz) two routes are indicated, one of 62, the other of 86 Roman miles.

It has been claimed that this Itinerary was an official publication of the Imperial Road Commissioners. But in that case it would be more complete and its arrangement more methodical. There would not be any repetitions of identically the same routes. The great Roman highways, too, the Appian Way, the Flaminian Way, etc., would be given more prominence. These trunkroads are indeed mentioned, but in making up his individual routes the compiler jumps freely from one to the other or to less important roads. After listing a number of routes in Italy he passes over to the Balkan Peninsula and to Syria, and returns to Italy to give the stations of eight of those great highways. Next he goes again to the Balkan Peninsula for a few routes, in particular some with Constantinople as goal, and then follow the routes in Gaul and Spain. If we had before us an official publication we should find indeed a more orderly procedure in the coordination of the countless routes. But if we presume that the whole work grew out of the scattered information furnished by merchants and other private travellers, by officials journeying to or returning from their posts in the provinces, by army officers marching with their military detachments, by persons visiting famous shrines of gods and goddesses; and that it originated in some sort of travelling agency which cared little for scientific system as long as the customers could be satisfied: the character of the work is much more satisfactorily explained.

It seems sure that this Itinerary was brought to its present form during the reign of Diocletian, that is, about A. D. 300. The fact that it contains no allusion to Christianity and Christian places forbids placing it much later than this date.

The *Itinerarium Antonini*, which gives directions for travels by land only, was supplemented by the *Itinerarium Maritimum*, a similar directory for journeys by sea. But this has remained incomplete. It is confined to the sailings of a part only of the ports of the Mediterranean.

In A. D. 313 Constantine the Great gave liberty to the Christians, and the unfettered religious life began to show itself also in the practice of pilgrimages to the Holy Places. In 333 an

unknown pilgrim who travelled from Bordeaux in Southern Gaul to Jerusalem and returned by a somewhat different route, noted down the names of all the places through which his journey led him, together with the distances between them. Thus he became the author of the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*. He distinguishes between *Civitates*, larger cities or towns; *Mansiones*, where the company spent the night; and *Mutationes*, where new relays of horses were taken. Though naturally limited in its scope this Itinerary is in many cases more detailed and accurate than any other.

We must not think that the idea of producing such a list of stations of an important long journey originated with our devoted pilgrim. No doubt countless similar Itineraries had already been written by other travellers, and had served the compilers of the more pretentious guide books. One remarkable instance of the same kind are the *Cups of Vicarello*, four silver drinking vessels, found in 1852 on the banks of the Sabatine Lake. Each of them enumerates in four vertical columns, nicely engraved, the 106 stations of the journey from *Gades* (Cadiz) in Southern Spain to Rome with the distances between them.

There are besides some **stone inscriptions**, all of them unfortunately in a very mutilated condition, which exhibit parts of limited Itineraries. Among these is the remnant of a pillar found near Tongres, Belgium, on which the names of some fifteen places in Northern France, Belgium, and the German Rhineland are still legible. The *Roman Mile Stones*, too, should be mentioned. About four thousand of them have been discovered and their inscriptions noted. But their use was not so general as we might be inclined to assume. It is beyond doubt, that while in some regions the roads were pretty well furnished with them, those in other sections had none at all.

The few facts given in the preceding paragraphs are supplied by the introductroy pages of a work of fundamental importance, brought out during the War by a German scholar, who had made the Roman Itineraries a life study. The book is a good-sized folio volume of some six hundred pages. Its title is:

Itineraria Romana: Römische Reisewege, an der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana dargestellt von Konrad Miller. Mit 317 Kartenskizzen und Textbildern. Stuttgart, Strecker and Schröder, 1916.

(Itineraria Romana: Roman Travelling Routes, represented

with the *Tabula Peutingeriana* as Basis by Konrad Miller. With 317 map sketches and pictures in the text.)

Of all the Roman Itineraries which have come down to us the one known among scholars as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is the most complete and the most systematic. It is a combination of route lists with a map. Instead of simply enumerating the successive stations of any particular route, the author of the Tabula enters them all on a map and thus enables the traveller to make up his own routes. It is called Peutingeriana, because the only copy of it came, about the beginning of the sixteenth century, into the possession of Konrad Peutinger, a rich patrician of the city of Augsburg. Although he was an ardent admirer of classic antiquity, circumstances prevented Peutinger from carrying out his intention of publishing the remarkable map, which after his death remained unknown for years. It was rediscovered by his heirs and published at Antwerp in 1598. The original copy was lost sight of again, but it celebrated another resurrection in 1714, and six years later was sold for a considerable sum of money to Prince Eugene, the famous conqueror of the Turks. This great general, himself highly educated, and a liberal patron of arts and literature, made it his special task to gather a select library of valuable books and pictures in his palace at Vienna. After his death the emperor bought the entire collection and assigned it to the Court Library, which still is in possession of it.

The map, about one foot wide and sixteen feet long, was kept rolled up when not in actual use. But as it suffered greatly from the process of rolling and unrolling, the Vienna librarians finally had it separated into its eleven sections and mounted on pieces of durable cardboard, so that it can now be freely consulted by scholars. Originally the Tabula consisted of twelve parchment sheets pasted together. But the first sheet which, when the map was rolled up, formed the outer layer and was in consequence much more exposed to injury, had already disappeared when the precious relic became the property of Konrad Peutinger.

The map, or rather sort of map, which is placed upon this long and narrow space, begins on the left hand with England and Spain, and ends at the Ganges River, where "Alexander responsum accepit: usquequo, Alexander?"—where Alexander heard the voice: How far (wilt thou go) Alexander? To under-

stand the Tabula we must always keep in mind the purpose for which it was devised. The author did not intend to give an idea of the size of countries or their accurate shape, not even of their relative position. He did not care to be exact concerning the course or length of rivers. His Italy is 3 feet long, extending due east and west, but nowhere more than 3 inches wide. His Po River is 2 feet long, his Loire hardly 7 inches. But a traveller who knew how to read his map found without difficulty what roads radiated from Rome, from Lyons, from Bordeaux, from Antioch, by what stations each road would lead to other cities, and what exact number of miles separated each two places. The Greek geographers had attempted to represent the shape and relative size of the principal lands around the Mediterraneans. Their maps indeed are highly creditable to their efforts, but they were of no practical use for the traveller. In our times we would not look at a map on which we cannot measure the distance of any two points by means of a "scale of miles." Such maps the ancient geographers were absolutely unable to produce. A map like Kiepert's *Imperium Romanum* was an impossibility in those days. So our author discarded entirely the idea of indicating distances and relative position of places by means like those now used by cartographers. He employed the simplest method possible. His roads all appear as straight lines connecting two places, and on these lines is written the number of miles. The length of the lines has nothing to do with the actual distance. Some lines are marked ten miles, while others, much shorter, are given as twenty. The facts thus expressed by the map are indeed all a prospective tourist desired to know before starting on his journey. The details he could find out in the localities themselves.

In this manner the *Tabula Peutingeriana* lists several thousands of places, large and small, and indicates the travelling connections between them. The author truly performed a gigantic task, even if he was able to utilize the result of the labors of others, who may, before him, have devised similar maps, perhaps for limited areas. With the exact geographical notions we have acquired from our early childhood, we may at first sight be tempted to despise his work as childish. But if we view it from his standpoint, with the mind of the Roman of sixteen hundred years ago, we must pronounce it to be an admirable production,

and a first class service to our own study of the system of Roman highways.

Some thirty years ago Professor Miller published the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in an excellent facsimile in colors. He followed it up by smaller publications on ancient Roman world maps (not road maps like the Tabula). He now crowns his labors by the present folio volume. His aim is to comprise all our knowledge of Roman roads in one work. His method is this. As the title says, everything is based on the *Tabula Peutingeriana*. In his map sketches he transfers the indications of the Tabula upon modern maps. In the text he follows in detail the individual routes, but inserts also the places known from the various Itineraria and other sources. At each city or station he mentions the ancient relics and inscriptions which relate to it or to places in the neighborhood. Passages of classic writers, too, are liberally referred to. Roman and other ancient remains preserved in each place, museums, etc., are briefly indicated, even if they have no direct bearing on roads and road stations. In this regard, however, the author endeavors to be complete concerning the less known places only. In the case of cities like Rome or Ravenna an exhaustive indication was neither possible nor necessary, such knowledge being available from many other books.

One such notice, on a city in western France, may serve as example. For the benefit of the reader, we replace, however, the authors abbreviations by the full titles of the works to which he refers.

"**Vesonna.** Called *Vesunna* in the Itinerarium Antonini; *Periagoris*, by the 'Geographer of Ravenna'; *Civitas Petrovicorum*, in the *Notitia Galliarum;* seems to have been inscribed in the *Tribus Quirina*, its Duumviri being mentioned in an inscription; Episcopal See (Sulpitius Severus mentions deposition of a bishop in A. D. 361.) **Now Perigeux.** Museum with Roman antiquities; remains of Roman amphitheatre; 'la tour de Vesone' (tower of Vesone) is also a Roman structure. Numbers 939-1030 of the Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum refer to Vesona. A road to Mediolanum Sancorum (now Saintes) branches off here; the Itinerarium Antonini marks one more road from here to Trajectus, 18 miles distant, and thence to Agrinnum."

The notes on places of which little is known do not go much beyond the information contained in the map, while other cities again receive very extensive memorandums. If we are aware

that in this way about 5,600 localities are treated, we obtain some idea of the vast amount of information embodied in this work. Although the author does not deny that probably more items may become available in consequence of local investigations and discoveries, he certainly can claim to have done an immense service to historical science.

The copy of the Tabula Peutingeriana now preserved in Vienna is assumed to have been produced by medieval hands not later than the twelfth century. The original map must have been compiled when paganism was still extensively practiced in the Roman Empire, because, while mentioning many pagan temples it marks only one Christian monument, the Church of St. Peter in Rome. Concerning Jerusalem a legend states that the city was once called Herosolyma, but now Helia (Aelia) Capitoliana, rather a protest against the Christian custom to use the old name than a concession to the new religion. Professor Miller thinks the work was finished by A. D. 360. From the manner in which the map is referred to by other early writers he concludes that its author bore the name of **Castorius**, though nothing more is known of the life of the man.

If civilized America endeavors to perpetuate the memory of Indian trails and portages, and to represent them as accurately as can be done on its historical maps; the admirable network of the Roman roads which made possible the brisk intercourse between all parts of the then civilized world, and which Rome bequeathed to posterity as one of the greatest boons, is no doubt a still worthier object of our study and investigation.

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P. S.—Upon special inquiry the publishers write that the bound copy costs 65 Marks. I fear there is some misunderstanding, because this would mean, according to the present rate of exchange, something like one dollar for a volume of nearly the size of a Missal. It seems to indicate, at any rate, that the price is very low. Probably libraries and other interested parties will make no mistake by getting at once into connection with the publishers. (Strecker und Schröder, Stuttgart, Germany.)

ST. EPHREM, THE NEW DOCTOR OF THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH

It is one of the mysteries of Providence, that men who had once acquired a world-wide reputation, or events whose influence was felt for centuries, should sometimes disappear completely, almost suddenly, from the world's attention, and after the lapse of ages be resurrected again, when there is need, to further the progress of religion and of civilization. Every student of Church History is aware how the Roman Catacombs, rediscovered in the sixteenth century, brought a flood of illustrious testimonials to the genuineness and unbroken continuity of our faith; and how the multitude of biblical and patristic manuscripts, unearthed within the last century, have awakened eloquent voices from a remote past, to rebuke the pretensions of Higher Criticism, and to testify to the perfect harmony of antiquity with the Catholic voice of today.

Some such destiny, it would seem, is now at hand for the ancient Syriac Church, and more conspicuously for St. Ephrem, its most venerable Patriarch. Thanks to the researches of distinguished scholars in the last two centuries, from the first of the Assemani down to Mgr. Lamy of Louvain, and more particularly, to the great Encyclical of Pope Benedict XV, which has only recently focussed universal attention on St. Ephrem and the Oriental Churches in general, the majesty of an ancient literature, we might say of a whole civilization, is again about to be revealed. It may be, the Second Spring of the Eastern Church is now at hand; or at least, we can now hope to see the dawn of a better understanding between the East and the West.

"We think the moment opportune," says the Holy Father, "now that the terrible war is over, and while the people of the Orient, having regained their liberty, and freed religion from secular domination, are now striving to adjust their individual nationalities in accordance with ancient institutions, to propose to them all, for their earnest imitation and zealous honor, a splendid example of learning, of holiness, and of patriotism, in the person of St. Ephrem, the Syrian." [1]

But while St. Ephrem has always been revered in the East

[1] *Encyclical.* "Principi Apostolorum"—Oct. 5, 1920.

as one of the greatest Fathers of the Church, and many of his writings are even now to be found inserted in the Liturgy and Offices of the Syrian, the Nestorian, the Maronite, the Coptic, the Greek, and the Slavic Rites, our Saint, and the Syriac language more so, was for long ages almost completely forgotten in the West. Even today, when the Supreme Pontiff reaches into antiquity, and selects the humble Deacon of Edessa, to raise him up as a Doctor of the Universal Church, the Encyclical is greeted with a mild surprise. So little is yet known of this remarkable character, or of that vast accumulation of Theological, Exegetical and Liturgical Learning, that was bequeathed to the early Church by the genius of St. Ephrem. And yet he was called "the great river Euphrates of the Church" * * * these are the picturesque words of St. Gregory of Nyssa * * * "who irrigating by his learning the whole Christian world, makes it to bring for fruit a hundred-fold." [2]

There are, indeed, many conflicting details in the various extant accounts of the life of St. Ephrem. No satisfactory biography of the Saint has yet been written, and his voluminous writings have never been collected into any complete edition. But certain outlines of his remarkable career are sufficiently well-defined. He was born at Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, about the year 306 A. D., early in the reign of Constantine the Great. His mother was a Christian, of humble origin, from Amida, a town near by; his father, according to some Syriac accounts, was a pagan priest, who drove him from home because of his sturdy piety, though the lad was only twelve years old; but according to St. Gregory of Nyssa and other writers, both his parents were good Christians and had the honor of suffering as Confessors for the Faith. Be that as it may, it is certain that the young man early came under the influence of St. James, the Bishop of Nisibis, one of the Fathers of the Council of Nicaea, and that he received a thorough Christian education and was baptized at the age of eighteen. This delay of Baptism, which we know was even longer in the case of St. Augustine and others, was not uncommon in the early ages of the Church. But it is doubtful whether St. Ephrem really accompanied St. James to the Council of Nicaea, as some authors relate; though we are told that even then, in 325, when he was but nineteen years old, he was already

[2] *Sermo in Vitam Ephraemi.*

a deacon and a monk, and was remarkable for his learning. The Saint himself naively tells us in his Confessions, that as a young man he was very remiss in religious matters, that he was passionate and quarrelsome, and free with his tongue, and that he was possessed of rash ideas on fatalism and predestination. But his biographers record that after he became a monk, he was a mirror of meekness, and no one ever knew him to be angry. In appearance, he was small of stature, and grave of features; he never laughed; and during all his life as a monk his food was only bread and dry vegetables, his drink only water. But together with these austere characteristics we can detect, in scattered stories told of him, the genuine sense of humour of a true saint; for when once his friend Julianus, abbot of a monastery near Edessa, said to him, "as Magdalen washed the feet of Our Lord, so I wash with tears the name of Our Lord wherever I see it written," the Saint replied: "God receive your pious resolution, brother; but I beg of you, spare the books."

Tradition tells us that one of the decrees of the Council of Nicaea ordained that bishops should establish schools in all their dioceses. St. Ephrem was placed at the head of the School of Nisibis. Here the Saint seems to have been engaged chiefly in expounding Holy Scriptures, and in composing various controversial works against heretics, and in supervising with becoming splendour the liturgical ceremonies of the diocese. But his reputation as a public-spirited citizen was even greater than his fame as a scholar, for in three separate sieges of the city by the Persian army, in 338, in 350, and in 362 A. D., his encouragement and skillful advice was of considerable assistance to the beleaguered city. The story is told of the dramatic ending of the first of these sieges. The Saint appeared on the walls at the head of a solemn procession, chanting hymns and prayers. All at once a veritable cloud of insects descended on the enemy's camp, irritating the elephants and the cavalry, and throwing the whole army into confusion. A complete rout followed. But in 363 A. D., after the disastrous expedition of Julian the Apostate, the next emperor, Jovian, was glad to save the remnants of the Roman army by a treaty, and surrendered the city of Nisibis to the Persians. This was the signal for a general exodus of the Christian population, who were fearful of persecution under Persian rule; and the majority of them, with St. Ephrem at their head, retired to Edessa, the modern Urfa, on the east bank of

the Euphrates. Here our Saint lived the remaining ten years of his life; and, as his abundant labors and writings at this time prove, this was the most fruitful period of his career. For a while he lived as an anchoret outside the city, but his reputation soon attracted scholars and disciples around him, among whom the most famous whose names have come down to us are Zenobius, Mar Abas and St. Isaac the Great. At this time, most likely, was founded the celebrated School of Edessa, the School of the Persians, as it was then called, because of the many Christion emigrés enrolled in its classes from Nisibis and elsewhere in Persian territory. The influence of this famous school was destined to spread Syriac language and literature for five centuries, over the whole region from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf. Here, as at Nisibis, St. Ephrem's teaching consisted chiefly in exposition of Holy Scripture, and all his vast commentaries (St. Gregory tells us that he commented ad verbum every book of the Old and New Testament), were either written or gathered together at this time. Here, too, were composed the greater number of his sermons, discourses and hymns. It is asserted by Photius that over a thousand homilies were known to bear his name; the Syrians attribute twelve thousand hymns to his pen, and others a greater number still; while Sozomen, the Greek historian, who claims enthusiastically that Ephrem's works surpass even all the Greek writers in splendor of oratory and sublimity of thought, goes on to say that his hymns and discourses, which are nearly all in metric form, make up the amazing total of three hundred thousand verses. Indeed, even after we allow for numerous interpolations, and for the abundant repetitions so common to all Oriental poetry, the actual quantitative output of St. Ephrem's pen, as now known and admitted to be genuine, verges on the marvelous.

But the Saint did not hesitate to abandon his literary activity when necessary for the good of the people. He was, indeed, the guardian angel of Edessa. Most of his biographers relate how during a period of general famine, his well-known zeal and untiring charity were the only means of procuring relief for the starving people. He was actually able to persuade the wealthier citizens, many of whom were even then smarting under his constant rebukes for their worldliness and heretical practices, to band together under his direction and to establish hospitals and dispensaries in various parts of the city; nor did he return to his

cell, we are told, until the next harvest was assured. The Saint died in 373 A. D., on the 18th of June, and his Feast has now been transferred to that day. He left many instructions to his sorrowing disciples and to his beloved people of Edessa; and there is scarcely a document in all Patristic literature more touching and humble than the Testament of St. Ephrem.

It cannot be denied, however, that there are still many important questions as yet unsolved in the history of St. Ephrem. To the exegete and the apologist there is the dispute as to which version of the Bible he employed, the Old Syriac of Edessa, (2nd Cent.), or the famous Peshitto Version. To the historian there fall many difficulties of chronology, especially as regards the time of his birth, his life in Nisibis, his sojourn of eight years in Egypt, and his visit to St. Basil in Caesarea, in Cappadocia. But to the theologian and the canonist is left the most famous and most difficult problem of all, and that is the question of St. Ephrem's ecclesiastical rank. Was he ever ordained a priest? If so, why his universal title of Deacon of Edessa? On one side of the controversy we have the Bollandist Fathers, who rely, among other weighty authorities, on the explicit testimony of St. Amphilochius, Bishop of Iconium, a contemporary of our Saint. In his life of St. Basil, ch. 14, the Bishop describes the actual Ordination, and expressly states that the "interpreter was ordained a Deacon, but he himself (Ephrem) a Presbyter." In a later chapter is related a long story of a penitent woman who is sent by St. Basil to St. Ephrem for absolution. Other testimonials are also available in this connection; but if this work by St. Amphilochius were certainly genuine, the whole question would be settled, and the traditional opinion would have no value. On the other hand however, we have almost a consensus of testimony, from Sozomen, Palladius and St. Jerome, to Baronius, Bellarmine and Mgr. Lamy, to the tradition that St. Ephrem remained all his life only a Deacon.

It is clear then, that for an adequate appreciation of St. Ephrem's career, and of his influence on the post-Nicene age of the Church, a more complete history of the period is needed than is at present available. But we can at least see from the tributes of some of the Fathers, which at times seem even extravagant, that his commanding figure must have dominated the Eastern Church in much the same way that St. Chrysostom dominated the Greek Church, and St. Augustine the Western. His works

were nearly all translated, sometimes immediately and during his own lifetime, into Greek and Latin; and later translations into Arabic, Coptic and other languages made them as familiar to the monks of the African deserts as to those of Syria and Persia. Indeed the Saint appears to have enjoyed even a wider vogue in religious circles than our own Rodriguez of today. There is one collection of his ascetical discourses, copied in the 12th century over a faded Bible MS. of the 5th century, that has preserved for us the famous Codex Ephraemi Rescriptus, the fourth in importance among the great uncials of the Greek Bible. His Scriptural Commentaries were studied and quoted by writers of the Schools of Antioch, Alexandria, Caeserea and Edessa, while many of his sermons were used as models in the Academies of Constantinople and even at Rome. St. Chrysostom points to him as "that celebrated Ephrem, who glorified the Church of God by his virtues and his writings * * * who is the rouser of the sluggard, the consoler of the afflicted, the mirror of monks, the discipline of youth." [3] "Ephrem's life and the splendor of his doctrine," writes St. Gregory of Nyssa, "has lighted up the whole world; he is known almost wherever the sun shines." [4] We are told that St. Basil marveled at his erudition, and confessed himself indebted to St. Ephrem for the interpretation of many obscure passages of Holy Scripture. But if some of these testimonials appear colored and rhetorical, we are at least prepared to form a safe opinion of his reputation from the sober words of St. Jerome: "Ephrem the Syrian," he writes, "attained such great renown, that his writings are now read publicly, in some Churches, after the Holy Scriptures. I myself have read his treatise on the Holy Spirit, translated from Syriac into Greek, and even in the translation I recognized the power of this sublime genius." [5] There is no need to dwell here on the enthusiasm with which Syriac writers in every age speak of their great Patriarch, applying to him various picturesque titles, indeed not entirely unjustified. To them he is "the Prophet of the Syrians," "the Harp of the Holy Ghost," "the Eloquent Mouth," "the Pillar of the Church," "the Doctor of the World."

But what is of chief interest to us at the present time is the

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[3] *Oratio de Consumm. Saec.*
[4] *Sermo in Vitam Ephraemi.*
[5] *De Viris Illustr.*

value to the Church of the works of St. Ephrem, and the grounds for his selection as a Doctor of the Universal Church. As we gather from the words of the recent Encyclical, the Deacon of Edessa holds a commanding position as a source of Ecclesiastical History, especially as regards the religious struggles of the 4th century; he is a supreme model of sacred eloquence, and moreover, is ranked high among the greatest poets of the early Church; but what is of much more moment, St. Ephrem is conspicuous among all the Fathers by the very abundance of his commentaries and sermons, as an orthodox interpreter of Holy Scripture, and as a witness to the most important doctrines of dogmatic theology; and finally, a fact which is perhaps little known, the Saint is now acknowledged among scholars as the Father of sacred liturgy and Church music.

We can touch but briefly on some of these aspects of St. Ephrem's varied activities. As he had long been familiar with the successful methods of the heretic Bardesanes and his son Harmonius in the 2nd century, and of Arius in his own times, all of whom wrote numerous poems and set them to popular melodies, in order thus to spread their false doctrines among the populace, St. Ephrem did not hesitate to borrow the enemy's weapons in the cause of truth, and in his turn wrote, with even greater success, scores of Catholic hymns and melodies, to popularize orthodox doctrines and to confute the heretics in their own field. In the MSS., there have been discovered by Mgr. Lamy at least 75 different melodies indicated at the head of the hymns, just as in many hymnologies of today. It is in these hymns especially that we find valuable testimony to the ceremonies of the ancient Ritual, as for instance for Baptism at the Paschal season, for Confirmation by the Bishop or Pontifex, for Holy Communion when received in the hands, according to the ancient discipline of the Church, etc. Thus began St. Ephrem's musical and liturgical work in the Churches of Nisibis, and continued later on at Edessa. We read glowing eulogies [6] of his genius for organization and of his wonderful success in training various choirs of nuns and of young men, and in teaching the people to sing at the Church services on all the principal festivals. The fame of the splendor of these celebrations was spread even in the West. We all know how St. Augustine speaks of the flood of

[6] THEODORET, L., IV, c. 27.

consoling tears which overwhelmed him as he listened, in the Church of Milan, to the majestic harmonies of the alternate singing then lately introduced by St. Ambrose, as he says, "in the manner of Oriental regions." [7] The recent Encyclical even declares that there are undoubted evidences to show that the Liturgical music of both Constantinople and of Milan, and consequently that Gregorian Music also, was originally derived from the Syrian antiphonaries which owe their origin to St. Ephrem. It is indeed quite certain that many of the present day Gregorian melodies are directly traceable to Eastern sources.

As a sacred Orator, perhaps no phrase better describes St. Ephrem than that in which Ebed-Jesu, Bishop of Nisibis in the 6th century, calls him the Prophet of the Last Judgment. In all his sermons, indeed in most of his hymns and discourses, it is rare that St. Ephrem does not lead us to serious thoughts on our last end. There is the same vividness of conviction, the same dread of hell and judgment that is so evident in St. Jerome. "But no preacher of any age," says Guillon [8] "ever presented with such energy, and with such a variety of realistic pictures, the frailness of this life, the nothingness of earthly things, and the terrors of death and judgment, as St. Ephrem." One sermon in particular, on the Last Day [9] is a veritable drama, so vivid and realistic that it remained long celebrated throughout the Orient as the greatest sermon ever preached on the subject. It is spoken of by St. Gregory as needing only the actual presence of the Supreme Judge to make it a reality; it was praised enthusiastically by Vincent of Beauvis in the thirteenth century, while Dante himself is said to have borrowed from its vivid imagery. Some of his thoughts and expressions sound intensely modern. "You ask me," he says, "if such or such a priest is worthy of his ministry. What is that to you? He is a priest. Take care you do not violate the precept of Christ, to honor him as such. Gold is not less gold, even if you find it encased in mud." "If when traveling, one comes across a blood-stained corpse, he is seized with horror, he trembles and grows pale; but bring before his eyes and din in his ears the story of the Crucified, dying for our sins—he is distracted, he turns to other things."

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[7] ST. AUG., *Confessions*, IX, 7.
[8] *Cours des Peres*, Vol. VIII, St. Ephrem.
[9] *Vatican Edition—Greek and Latin*—Vol. II, p. 192.

But it is pre-eminently in Dogmatic Theology that St. Ephrem takes high rank as an ancient Father and Doctor of the Universal Church. He was her champion against all the heresies of the 4th century, all of which, alas, chose their chief battle-ground in this very region of Asia Minor. There the religious struggles were frequent and violent. In Edessa alone, twelve different heretical sects were to be found. There were the Gnostic followers of Bardesanes among the well-to-do classes; the accomplished and smooth-tongued Arius, whose doctrines were spread chiefly among the populace, but at times pervaded all grades of society; the ascetical Marcion, and Apollinaris, whose heresies still persisted from an earlier age; there were the Manicheans, the Encratists, the Astrologers, and many others, most of whom are frequently met with in the sermons and hymns of St. Ephrem. But as the Saint's method of controversy was not always by direct refutation, but more often by clear, concise exposition of orthodox Catholic teaching, the historian is often disappointed not to find a definite statement of the heretical doctrine in question. Neither does he seem ever to indulge in mere theological speculation. He is throughout the Teacher, proposing to our unquestioning faith, Truth as it was handed down from the beginning, and freely appealing to that unvarying Apostolical Tradition which is the familiar argument of all the Fathers.

St. Ephrem's teaching on the august mystery of the Holy Trinity follows that of the Nicene Council, and though in Syriac there is no word the exact equivalent of the Greek "Homoousios" —Consubstantial—he uses various expressions like "Equal in Essence," "Son of the Nature" (as is done in the Syriac version of Nicene Creed), or similar phrases, to take the place of this term.[10] He even anticipated the great controversies of the famous Filioque; for the hymn to the Blessed Trinity[11] contains this doctrine explicitly: "the Father begetting, the Son Begotten of His Bosom, the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father *and the Son;* the Father, Maker of the world from nothing, the Son, Creator who established all things with his Father; the Holy Spirit, Paraclete and Merciful, in whom are perfected all that was or is or shall be." Again, the unity and distinction of the

[10] ASSEMANI, *Bibl. Orient.* I, p. 111.

[11] LAMY, *Hymni et Sermones,* III, p. 242.

Divine Persons is clearly expressed: "one passes not into the other, one is joined to the other, one is distinct from the other; behold One is Three, and the Three are One, mingled and not confused, distinct and not separated." [12] In still another hymn we are given a long and beautiful exposition of the familiar comparison with the Sun, its Light and Heat, to represent the Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

Not less marvelous, as an anticipation of the difficulties proposed by the Monophysites and the Monothelites of the 6th century, is St. Ephrem's doctrine on the dual Nature and the Single Personality of Christ, our Lord. "Praiseworthy and Wise is He, who joined and mingled Divinity with Humanity: one nature from on high, one from below, He mixed like two liquids (yet not confused), and became a Person, the God-Man." [13] "When you see Him in heaven, there is nothing like to Him; when you find Him on earth, he is simply Man; turn your eyes to the right, and lo, myriads on myriads of Angels ministering unto Him, while Cherubim and countless watchers cry out Holy, Holy. But look on Him upon the earth, and lo, the foxes have holes, and the birds of the air nests, but He who is the Son of God has not whereon to lay His head." [14]

As for St. Ephrem's loyalty to the Primacy, we cannot do better than repeat his striking testimony, from distant Edessa, to the Supreme Authority of Christ's Vicar: "Blessed art thou, O Peter, the head and the tongue of the Body of Brethren, the Body which is formed from the union of the Disciples: the true revelation of the Father is heard, favoring Peter, who becomes the unshaken rock." [15] Another hymn records a sublime colloquy between Christ and His Vicar on earth, in which Our Lord speaks thus to Peter: "Simon, my Disciple, I have made thee the foundation of my holy Church; I have called thee the Rock, that thou mightest sustain the whole edifice. Thou art the watcher over those who build for me a Church on earth. If they build not aright, I have placed thee a foundation, do thou restrain them. Thou art the fountain head from which my doctrine is drawn; thou art the head of my disciples, through thee will I

[12] ASSEMANI, *Ibidem*, p. 107.
[13] ASSEMANI, Ibid., p. 80.
[14] LAMY, *Ibid.*, p. 352.
[15] RAHMANI, *Hymni S. Ephraemi*, p. 45.

give drink to the nations. I have given to thee the keys of my kingdom, and behold I make thee Lord over all my possessions." [16]

In much the same way numerous other details of Catholic doctrine appear in St. Ephrem, as though with a sort of marvelous prescience of later controversies. But it can be said with truth that nowhere does his language rise to more lyric heights of pure poetry than when he is speaking of the Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist, or the praises of the Blessed Mother of God.

To cite a few brief passages: Among the Syriac names for the Holy Eucharist even today, the most celebrated is the word Gmurtho', which means literally the Live-Coal, a name which was given to it because St. Ephrem long ago applied a beautiful commentary on Isaias 6, 6—where the Cherubim purified the lips of the Prophet with a live-coal from the Altar—to the Blessed Sacrament. There are in the hymns many beautiful tributes to the Real Presence: "The Priests of old desired thy beauty, and saw it not; the Priests who came after them hated thee, and treated thee unworthily; but the Priests of today embrace thee in their arms, O Bread of Life, who, coming down from heaven, hath united thyself to our senses." [17] Another stanza reads: "In a new way, His Body is united to our bodies, His Blood most pure is diffused through our veins * * * behold, Fire and the Spirit" (this is a familiar metaphor in St. Ephrem) "in the womb of thy Mother; Fire and the Spirit in the waters of the Jordan; Fire and the Spirit in the Bread and the Chalice. * * * It is thee, O Lord, we eat, thee we drink, not that we may consume thee, but that we may live in thee." [18]

But it may be doubted if this gifted poet ever sings more beautifully than when chanting the praises of the Blessed Mother. There are exquisite gems of devotion and tender thought in stanza after stanza of the hymns on the Nativity, on Virginity, and on the Feasts of our Lady. Theologians find, for instance, a definite tribute to the traditional belief in the Immaculate Conception in such passages as the following: "Both were without blemish, both were most pure, Mary and Eve: but one was the cause of our death, the other, of our life." [19] "Thou,

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[16] LAMY, I, p. 411.
[17] ASSEMANI, *Ibid.*, 197.
[18] ASSEMANI, Ibid., 101.
[19] ASSEMANI, *Ibid*, p. 90.

O Lord, and thy Mother, are the only beings who in every way are beautiful: for in thee, O Lord, there is no shadow of blemish, and no stain in thy Mother." [20] Here is St. Ephrem's way of expressing the Divine Motherhood of Mary: "Son of the Father, Son of Mary, thou art the one Word of God; born supernaturally of the Mother, naturally of the Father, and in a new way of the Jordan: but of the River, the Mother and the Father thou art one and the same Child-God." [21] But when the saintly poet sings of the Nativity of our Lord, and the tenderly human relations of the Mother and Child, we are reminded irresistibly of a Francis of Assisi; and, we fancy, St. Ignatius himself would use this same language in his exstatic adoration of the humanity of Christ. There is an intimate kinship in all the Saints. In one of these hymns, the Blessed Mother thus addresses the Divine Infant: "A tender dove is bearing the eagle of ages, bearing it and singing the while: O wonderful Birdling, who wishes to be nourished in this little nest of mine, let me sing thee a melody that will move the Cherubim." [22] And again, after speaking of the glories of the heavenly court, and in climax after climax rising to the light inaccessible in which the eternal Word dwells, the poet continues: "But if love urge the mind to seek him ever, intrude not near the throne of burning spirits, but come rather, and see him: in the arms of Mary and Joseph: the hidden in the Father has revealed Himself, through a Virgin, to mortal men." [23] "The glorious Sun has contracted itself, to hide in a white cloud." [24]

These are but chance gleanings, however, from the rich, waving fields of pure poetry in the writings of St. Ephrem—writings that for long ages have been regions unexplored. We find here the same substantial accord with the teachings of the living Church of today, as in all the great and better-known Fathers of antiquity. But who can guess the purposes of Providence, in now restoring St. Ephrem to his greatness of sixteen centuries ago? If this Encyclical be a prophecy—of the coming reunion of the East and the West, God speed the day! The Holy Father could scarcely have selected a more fitting Patron as a harbinger

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[20] BICKELL, *Carmina Nisiben*, n. 27.
[21] LAMY, II, p. 558.
[22] LAMY, *Ibid.*, p. 543.
[23] LAMY, *Ibid.*, p. 581.
[24] LAMY, *Ibid.*, p. 622.

of the long desired event. For all the great religious bodies of the East, who revere St. Ephrem as the common Father and Master of all their creeds, can surely find, in his teaching, a way to unity with the one Universal Church. And thus it is not alone as the sublime religious poet, nor as the mighty Christian orator only, that St. Ephrem rises before our eves, at this late day, out of the mist of centuries; but it is the Master of Holy Scripture, and the Witness to our ancient heritage of Faith; it is the Guide—to those great nations which were young and flourishing in his day, in the 4th century, and now, after their age-long burial, are young again: such in brief is Ephrem the Syrian, the humble Deacon of Edessa, on whom the Supreme Pontiff has now conferred the title and honors of Doctor of the Universal Church.

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RELIGIOUS ORDERS OF WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES

In a brief history of the Religious Orders of Women of the United States, it would seem specially important that two separate periods be taken into consideration: the first embraces the years included in the administration of Archbishop Carroll and the two decades and a half following it, down to 1840; the second includes the four score of years lying between that time and the present. In the former, most of the strictly American foundations were made; in the latter, European communities or those developed out of the earlier American orders[1] began their work in the country.

When the Right Rev. John Carroll became Bishop of Baltimore, in 1789, his diocese was co-terminous with the whole United States of that day, with about thirty priests and, probably, forty thousand Catholics. There were no women religious.

The whole United States then meant the country between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mississippi River and from Canada and the Great Lakes to the northern boundary of Florida westward to the Mississippi. It embraced Maine, Vermont, the Thirteen Original Colonies, the North-Western, South-Western and Mississippi Territories. The North-Western Territory contained Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota; the South-Western Territory included Kentucky and Tennessee; and the Mississippi Territory embraced Alabama and the State of Mississippi—in all, twenty-five of our present forty-eight states.

In 1790, the year of his consecration, Bishop Carroll gave permission to four Carmelite Nuns from Antwerp to found a convent at Port Tobacco, Maryland. Anxious for them to open an academy for girls, the Bishop obtained the privilege from Rome for them to dispense with the cloister, but the Sisters preferred to adhere to their rule and to spend their lives in prayer and penance.

[1] Paper read at the first annual meeting of the American Catholic Historical Association.

Two years later (1792) three nuns of the Order of Poor Clares arrived from France and went to Frederick, Maryland, but finally they settled in Georgetown and opened an academy there. The school did not prosper and on the death of the superior in 1804, the Sisters returned to Europe. Disappointed in the hope of establishing schools through European help, the Bishop and his clergy turned their attention to founding communities at home. Father Leonard Neale, while pastor in Philadelphia, saw in Miss Alice Lalor, who was under his spiritual direction, a means for carrying out his plans, since she had desired to enter religious life even before she left Ireland in 1795. The yellow fever scourge of 1798 closed the school which she and her companions had opened, the youngest of the band having died of the plague. In 1799, when Father Neale was appointed president of Georgetown College, he invited Miss Lalor and her companions to come to Georgetown. They accepted the invitation and resided with the Poor Clares until they secured their own building. They then opened the first free school in the District of Columbia (January 24, 1799). The public free schools of that locality were opened in 1805. When the Poor Clares were ready to return to France in 1804, Father Neale bought their property for Miss Lalor and her companions who were called the "Pious Ladies," but who were not organized into a religious community. In 1802, Mrs. Sharpe, their best teacher, died, and the school declined until there were only twelve pupils. Up to 1810, only four prospective postulants had come to them, and efforts to obtain religious from Europe to train them had failed. Their own wish was to be members of the Visitation Order. Consequently, Bishop Neale, in 1812, established a novitiate for this purpose, and when he succeeded Archbishop Carroll as Ordinary of Baltimore, in 1815, he obtained permission to erect the convent into a Monastery of the Visitation Order (1816). The present Georgetown Academy occupies the site of the original foundation. No convent was founded from this house until 1837, but monasteries are now established in all parts of the country.

During the decade of years preceding the establishment of the Visitation community, another society had come into existence and had made establishments at Emmitsburg and

Philadelphia and was then on the eve of sending a colony of Sisters to New York. The conversion of Mrs. Seton in 1805 had been a subject of unusual interest to Archbishop Carroll and to other clergymen, because of her place in the social world, and because of her trials after embracing the faith. She had been introduced to the clergy by a prominent personage, Mr. Philip Filicchi, former consul-general of the United States at Leghorn. It was at the house of his brother Antonio, in Italy, that Mrs. Seton's faith in the truths of Catholic doctrine was awakened, and both brothers desired for her the fullest illumination in matters of faith. To this end she was introduced by them, either personally, or through correspondence, to Archbishop Carroll, Fathers Cheverus and Matignon of Boston, and to the clergy of New York. In 1806, Father DuBourg, while in New York, met Mrs. Seton, we might say accidentally, if we did not know God's mysterious ways in carrying out His plans. He conversed with her, learned of her desire to enter a religious community, of her thoughts of going to Canada, or even to Europe for that purpose, since there were no religious houses in the United States. He persuaded her to go to Baltimore and open a school on the grounds of the Sulpician Seminary of which he was president. Encouraged by this prospect, Mrs. Seton and her three daughters sailed from New York on June 9, 1808, and reached Baltimore on Wednesday night, June 15. The next morning, the feast of Corpus Christi, she attended the dedication services of St. Mary's Seminary Chapel. In September, she opened a boarding school for young ladies, admitting only the children of Catholic parents. Cecilia O'Conway, "Philadelphia's First Nun," joined her on December 7, although she had made preparations to enter a convent in Spain. Mr. Cooper, a recent convert, and a student of St. Mary's Seminary, was possessed of property which Mrs. Seton hoped might be available for her work. She approached Father DuBourg, informing him of her desire to care for poor children and her prayers that Mr. Cooper might give his money for that purpose. Immediately after this interview, Mr. Cooper presented himself saying he wished to use his means for charitable purposes and wondered if Mrs. Seton would undertake the work. Struck at the coincidence, Father DuBourg advised a delay of one

month, but at its expiration found both unchanged in their desires. He then informed Archbishop Carroll, who regarded the circumstance as providential for the American Church and gave his approval and blessing. Other postulants from Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore entered the community, and on June 1, 1909, the Sisters adopted the black habit, cape and cap. They appeared in their religious garb for the first time at the solemn services in St. Mary's Chapel on Corpus Christi, 1809, one year after Mother Seton's arrival in Baltimore. During the previous year, she had consecrated herself to God by the three vows of religion, and she now placed her community under the protection of St. Joseph, by adopting the name SISTERS OF CHARITY OF ST. JOSEPH. Father DuBourg was constituted their ecclesiastical superior and drew up a rule of observance until a permanent constitution should be accepted. In accordance with Mr. Cooper's wish, property was purchased at Emmitsburg. While the house there was being made ready for the community, Mother Seton and a few others lived in Father Duhamel's log house, near the college. On July 30, they moved into the "Stone House," the cradle of Mother Seton's community, and the rest of the Sisters from Baltimore arrived the following day. The Sisters numbered ten, to whom Father DuBourg gave a spiritual retreat, beginning on August 10. Father Dubois, president of Mt. St. Mary's, was their chaplain and director. Class work began with two boarders from Baltimore, and Mother Seton's three daughters, and with day pupils from the village. Charity to the sick was exercised almost immediately by attending patients stricken by the fever which had broken out in the neighborhood of Emmitsburg. In the midst of privations and sufferings, the Sisters of Charity, the pioneer and typical American community, grew in numbers, strength and fervor, and their schools increased. By June there were forty pupils, thirty being boarders at St. Joseph's Valley. Mother Seton superintended the classes and established what is now called a "practice" or "model" school. The rules and constitutions of St. Vincent de Paul, modified to meet the conditions in America, were confirmed by Archbishop Carroll on January 17, 1812, and an election of officers took place immediately. Mother Seton was elected Mother Superior, and the community assumes the name of DAUGHTERS OF CHARITY. A retreat followed and the Sisters were given

another year to test their vocation. In September, 1812, Reverend Simon Gabriel Bruté became chaplain and confessor. On the 19th of July, 1813, eighteen members were admitted to the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. In August, Sister Catherine Mullen was appointed mistress of novices over ten members. The Sisters opened their first mission at St. Joseph Asylum, Philadelphia, on October 6, 1814. Before Mother Seton's death in 1821 (January 4), the community, then fifty in number, was directing schools and asylums in Philadelphia, schools and asylums in New York and Baltimore, was superintending domestic affairs at Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, and was conducting a boarding academy and a pay and free day school at the Motherhouse. The children of the free school received free each day their dinner as well as their education. The society was chartered by the legislature of Maryland in January, 1817. Towards the middle of the century when the movement was made by the ecclesiastical superior to affiliate the Order with the French Sisters of Charity, it numbered about four hundred members and had institutions from the New England States to the Gulf of Mexico and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi. It registered twenty academies, forty-six parochial schools, twenty-nine asylums, more than a dozen hospitals, and a retreat for the insane. The affiliation project brought about in 1846 a separation of the New York Sisters from Emmitsburg. Under Archbishop Hughes, they became independent, retaining Mother Seton's rules and costume. They number now about eighteen hundred members and conduct a college, academies, parochial schools, asylums, and hospitals throughout the Archdiocese of New York.

The Cincinnati Sisters in 1852 when the cornette and French rule were introduced into the United States remained Mother Seton's Daughters. They opened their novitiate with Archbishop Purcell as ecclesiastical superior and now, a community of one thousand Sisters, they have establishments in nine dioceses from Ohio to New Mexico. They conduct a college, five academies, twenty-five high, and seventy parochial schools, a boarding school for deaf-mutes, a day-school for colored children, an infant asylum, a day nursery, an Italian mission, two orphanages, five training-schools for nurses, a free clinic and dispensary, and eight hospitals and sanitariums.

From the New York community, the Halifax province was formed in 1849. Through the agency of New York and Cincinnati the Convent Station, (New Jersey) Community was established in 1859 and from the Cincinnati Motherhouse in 1870, the Greensburg, (Pennsylvania) branch was established. All three are large flourishing religious bodies carrying on the same works as those from whom they originated. The Convent Station Sisters opened the first Catholic College for Women in the United States, St. Elizabeth's, founded in 1899.

The SISTERS OF CHARITY OF NAZARETH, Kentucky, were founded indirectly from Emmitsburg by Father David, ecclesiastical superior of Mother Seton's community when he accepted the invitation of Bishop Flaget to go to Kentucky. He took with him the rules of the Maryland Sisterhood and intended the foundation he made in 1812 to be a novitiate for the eastern Motherhouse, but Father Dubois advised him to keep it independent. Mother Catherine Spalding, superior for twenty-four years coöperated with Father David, and the growth and success of the organization are in a great measure due to her clear-sighted and firm but kind government. A school was opened on September 14, 1814, near the Church of St. Thomas at Bardstown. In 1822, the Nazareth Academy and Motherhouse were permanently established about two miles and a half from Bardstown. The community then numbered thirty-eight and there were twenty-five boarding pupils. Schools were opened not only in Kentucky but also in Indiana and Tennessee and later in Ohio, Maryland, Massachusetts and elsewhere.

The LEAVENWORTH SISTERS OF CHARITY were founded from Nazareth in 1859. Another branch of Mother Seton's Daughters is Bishop England's community, the Sisters of Our Lady of Mercy, established in 1830, so that now at the centennial of Mother Seton's death (January 4, 1921) she has in the United States about eight thousand followers who "call her blessed" and endeavor to walk in her footsteps.

In the same year that Father David established the Sisters of Nazareth (1812), but a few months earlier, Father Nerinckx gave to the Church a new order THE FRIENDS OF MARY AT THE FOOT OF THE CROSS, or, as they are generally known, THE SISTERS OF LORETTO. Miss Mary Rhodes, of Maryland,

had started a small school at Hardin's Creek in Marion County, and this gave Fathers Badin and Nerinckx an opportunity of realizing their plans for Catholic education in Kentucky. Miss Rhodes, who cherished the idea of religious life, was joined by several others, a small tract of land was purchased, and the pioneer convent school west of the Alleghany Mountains was opened. The first novices received their religious habit on April 25, 1812, and the community was approved by the Sovereign Pontiff on April 1, 1816. Although located in Kentucky and having its principal houses there, it spread to Arkansas, Missouri, Kansas, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Arizona and today it has colleges, academies and parochial schools in many cities, and several schools for Indians in New Mexico. The membership of the community is about eight hundred. Bishop DuBourg, who had exercised so great influence in founding the educational establishments of Mother Seton, showed equal zeal when Providence led his footsteps to the southern part of the country. The French possessions, ceded to the United States by Napoleon Bonaparte with the idea of creating for England a rival equal to herself, became the extensive diocese of Bishop DuBourg in 1815. URSULINE SISTERS had come there from France in 1727 and had opened a boarding and day school, as well as an orphan asylum and hospital. The mother country paid their travelling expenses and a salary until the institutions were self-supporting. The Spanish government, when it took possession of that part of the country, was also solicitous for education, but from a Spanish standpoint, and the Nuns suffered a little on account of their French tendencies. They prospered, however, and received Spanish postulants, and they became reconciled to the new order though somewhat fearful of the results of the French Revolution, so that when Louisiana was given back to France by the Spaniards, the Superior and fifteen of the Sisters went to Havana and established themselves there. The nine remaining Sisters, anxious about their fate, had written to President Jefferson at Washington, and were assured of protection by the government of the United States. They have continued their work in New Orleans to the present day, but did not attempt any new settlements for half a century later. The lack of educational opportunities in the

extensive territory under his charge was uppermost in the mind of Bishop DuBourg when he visited Mother Barat at the Convent of the Sacred Heart in Paris, on January 14, 1817, and learned with joy of the desire of Madame Duchesne to give her life to the missions in America. With a little band of Sisters she took voyage for the United States on March 21, and landed in New Orleans on May 29, 1918, sailing up the Mississippi to St. Louis and finally reaching St. Charles, where she made the Society's first foundation in America. In time the community spread to the south, east and west and now has many schools and academies.

Father Wilson, a Dominican, superior of St. Thomas College, Kentucky, saw the lack of facilities for educating the girls of his parish, and organized into a religious community several young women desirous of devoting themselves to the training of the young. They became the pioneer DOMINICAN SISTERHOOD of the United States (1822). The following year they opened a school with fifteen pupils. In 1830, this Motherhouse sent a colony to Somerset, Ohio, and later to other parts of Kentucky, to Tennessee, Texas and California, and they helped found St. Clara at Sinsinawa Mound, Wisconsin, in 1848. From these various centers, branches have been established in all the eastern states.

The OBLATE SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE, colored, were instituted by M. Joubert, a Sulpician, in 1825, at Baltimore for work among the negroes. Their order was approved by the Holy See on October 2, 1831, and the Sisters now have boarding schools, orphanages, and day schools in Baltimore and Washington, in Kansas, Missouri, and the West Indies.

The Reverend Terence J. Donaghue, pastor of St. Michael's parish, Philadelphia, when he finished his church in 1833, began at once to organize a school, and this he did with the aid of several young women whom he had brought from Ireland. They became his first teachers and finally on November 1, 1833, the founders of the SISTERS OF CHARITY OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY. Ten years later, the Sisters and Father Donaghue were invited to help Bishop Loras establish the Church in the west. Five of the Sisters left Philadelphia on June 5, 1843, but the pressing needs of the Dubuque diocese

induced Father Donaghue to take the whole community westward. In 1858, the Motherhouse was transferred from the original site to Mt. Carmel on a bluff overlooking the Mississippi River and from it schools and academies have been established throughout the middle and far west, especially in Chicago. From 1809 to 1840, the communities which took root in the country and grew very strong were of American origin; but from this time forward, owing to increased population, help was sought from Europe, or, on account of troubles abroad, Europeans sought an asylum of safety in America. Many of the Bishops, when they saw the tide of immigration coming to our shores, went in person to plead for missionary and educational help, as well as material aid. For the last they applied successfully to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and to the Leopoldine Association. Bishop Rosati, with all these purposes in mind, visited France in 1834 and while there secured the SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH for his diocese of St. Louis. The Sisters, six in number, left Havre on January 17, 1836, and reached St. Louis by way of New Orleans on March 25. They began their work at Cahokia, but very soon after opened a convent at Carondolet and this became their Motherhouse. From this first establishment the Sisters of St. Joseph in Erie, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Wheeling, Troy, St. Paul, and Brooklyn have had their origin, and from Brooklyn branches have been founded in Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts.

Bishop de la Hailandière, of Vincennes, brought the Sisters of Providence from France to Indiana in 1840. Six Sisters reached New York in October and took the long stage journey over the Alleghanies travelled in the early twenties and thirties by Mother Seton's daughters on their journeys to St. Louis, Cincinnati, New Orleans, Mobile, and in 1838, to Vincennes. In 1843 St. Mary's of the Woods, the American foundation of the SISTERS OF PROVIDENCE became independent of the Order in France, on account of the disadvantage of distance. The Sisters, like their predecessors in Indiana, endured sufferings of various kinds, but Mother Theodore Guérin, a women of heroic character overcame all obstacles and at her death, in 1856, left fourteen houses in Indiana. In succeeding years, according to the growth of the community, parish schools and

academies were opened in other states. They number about fourteen hundred Sisters. The same year which brought the Sisters of Providence to Indiana saw the arrival of the SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME OF NAMUR in Ohio. Bishop Purcell, who had been expecting Bishop Bruté's niece and other LADIES OF THE SACRED HEART, received word through the Reverend Hercules Brassac that Mother Barat could not fulfill her promise, but that he had secured a colony of eight Sisters of Notre Dame for the diocese of Cincinnati. General Lytle had given property in Brown County for educational purposes and Bishop Purcell wished the Sisters to open an academy there. When they arrived, in October, 1840, and found their new home would be in the country where no poor school could be attached to the pay school, they declined the offer. After a few weeks they secured a home in Cincinnati and opened the Sixth Street Academy on January 18, 1841. In later years, they made other foundations in Ohio, Philadelphia, Massachusetts and California and have Trinity College in Washington, the second Catholic College for women in the United States. The SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME OF CLEVELAND are likewise a province of Namur. The eight Sisters received into Cleveland by Bishop Gilmour were the first exiles, victims of the Kulturkampf of 1871. They reached Ohio in 1874, and later were invited by Bishop Toebbe of Covington and others, until in 1877, two hundred of the community were teaching in the United States. They have Bohemian, Slovak and Hungarian schools in addition to their German and English institutions.

The SISTERS OF THE HOLY CROSS were sent to this country by their founder, Abbé Moreau, when Father Sorin asked his aid for the missions in Indiana. Four Sisters left their Motherhouse in France on June 6, 1846, and established their first house at Bertrand in Michigan, just outside of Indiana, because Bishop de la Hailandière objected to their settling in Indiana. He had invited the Sisters of Providence and thought there would not be sufficient work for the two communities. Bishop Lefèvre of Detroit was pleased to have the Sisters until Bishop de la Hailandière expressed his dissatisfaction and then he retracted the permission given. Father Sorin went to consult him personally and fortunately found with him a visiting

prelate, Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati, who, when the question was presented, convinced Bishop Lefèvre that the Sisters would be of inestimable advantage and he accordingly withdrew his prohibition and gave the foundation his approval. In September, 1844, the first novices were invested in the habit of the order and in 1845 the Society for the Propagation of the Faith granted the Sisters 5,000 francs and the inhabitants of Bertrand gave them seventy-seven acres of land, on which to erect a new building. In 1846, Father Sorin brought from France a number of French Sisters and postulants to help the American mission. In 1855 the institution was moved from Bertrand to its present location, a mile west of Notre Dame. In 1867, the community was recognized by Rome as independent of the order in France. It conducts colleges, schools, and academies in the east, the middle and far west, has hospitals and other institutions and is a religious body of over one thousand members. The same year which brought the Sisters of the Holy Cross to America, introduced the SISTERS OF MERCY to Pittsburgh. When in Ireland, Bishop O'Connor invited them to his episcopal city, which they reached on December 21, 1843. The Sisters of Charity from Emmitsburg who had been there since 1835 went to missions awaiting them in Cincinnati and other parts of Ohio. The Sisters of Mercy built their Motherhouse at Beatty and still conduct an academy there. In 1846, a colony was sent to Chicago and later other houses were opened in Pennsylvania and the New England States. They, also, made independent foundations in other cities. A colony came directly from England to New York in 1846 and several from Ireland: to Arkansas in 1850, to California in 1854, to Cincinnati in 1858 and to Philadelphia in 1860. They number over four thousand in all their various branches.

The SISTERS OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD made their first American foundation in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1844. This house belongs to their largest and most efficient province, that of Carthage, a suburb of Cincinnati, founded in 1857. Other provincial houses in New York City, St. Louis, St. Paul and Philadelphia are extending the great and wonderful work of the Sisters throughout the whole country.

The SISTERS OF THE MOST PRECIOUS BLOOD whose Motherhouse and novitiate are at Maria Stein, Mercer County, Ohio, reached the United States in 1844. Six sisters were brought from Switzerland by Reverend Francis S. Brunner, Provincial of the Precious Blood Fathers. They teach in the public schools of Mercer County, and have schools and other establishments in Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri and Arizona.

The SISTERS-SERVANTS OF THE IMMACULATE HEART OF MARY are an American foundation. In 1845 two Sisters of Providence from Baltimore. and several young ladies engaged in teaching with the approval of Bishop Lefévre, placed themselves under the spiritual guidance of Father Gilet at Monroe, Michigan, with the intention of becoming religious. The rules given them by Father Gilet were followed until 1857, when Father Joos wrote their constitution and revised the rule previously adopted. Independent foundations were made from this Motherhouse in Philadelphia in 1859, in Scranton, in 1871. All three have become important centers and conduct a large number of the schools and academies of the several dioceses in which they reside. The Redemptorist Fathers who were working zealously among the German immigrants to the United States in the early decades of the nineteenth century had the honor of bringing to the wilds of Pennsylvania the first six SCHOOL SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME in 1847. One of the number, Mother Caroline, in 1850, obtained from the Motherhouse in Bavaria a modification of the rule of enclosure and later, at the invitation of Bishop Henni, established the Motherhouse in Milwaukee. By 1876, her community was so large that she divided the administration, making Baltimore head of an eastern province and St. Louis head of the southern. The SISTERS OF ST. FRANCIS OF THE PERPETUAL ADORATION came also from Bavaria, in 1849, but they were unable to carry out their rule of perpetual adoration until 1877 when their Motherhouse at LaCrosse was finished and a blessing given to the Sisters and their work by their life-long friend Bishop Heiss. In 1851, the fourth order to enter Indiana, that of the SISTERS OF ST. FRANCIS, was established at Oldenburg. Two Sisters came from Vienna, but only one remained. In 1852, she had

her convent canonically established and opened an academy. The community increased rapidly and has charge of schools in the Archdioceses of Cincinnati and St. Louis and in the Diocese of Indianapolis.

The SISTERS OF THE THIRD ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS were founded by Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia in 1855. The Syracuse, Buffalo, and Pittsburgh houses are branches of this. In 1896, the Motherhouse was transferred from Philadelphia to Glen Riddle. An independent foundation was made at Tiffin, Ohio, in 1869.

Mrs. Sarah Peter of Cincinnati, who, with Archbishop Purcell, had introduced so many religious from European countries, obtained six SISTERS OF THE POOR OF ST. FRANCIS from Germany in 1858, and established them in Cincinnati, where they opened St. Mary's Hospital. In 1860, St. Elizabeth Hospital in Covington was begun and in 1861, they placed three Clarisses or Recluses in the residence of Mrs. Peter who used thereafter until her death, in 1877, a small suite of rooms in the same house.

The SISTERS OF ST. FRANCIS of Clinton, Iowa, began their work in Kentucky, but after years and many vicissitudes, reached Clinton in 1893 and opened an academy and novitiate.

The URSULINE SISTERS from New Orleans opened an Academy in Texas in 1847. In the very early days of New York and Massachusetts nuns of this order had opened schools which proved unsuccessful, but in 1845 Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati gave to eleven nuns who came from France with Father Macheboeuf a piece of property since become an historic center of the order. St. Martin's, Brown County, Ohio, sent out several foundations and the convent established in Cleveland in 1850, had many branches. The BENEDICTINE NUNS appeared for the first time in the United States in 1852, when Abbot Wimmer established nuns from Germany at St. Mary's, Pennsylvania. The largest convent of the Benedictines is at St. Joseph, Minnesota, but there are foundations in Newark, New Jersey, Duluth, Covington, Ky., Clyde, Mo., and Bristow, Va., where the Sisters occupy themselves with educational works. The WHITE BENEDICTINES, established in 1874 by Bishop Fitzgerald, teach parochial schools and conduct hospitals.

Like the Benedictines, the DAUGHTERS OF CHARITY OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL, made their first appearance in the United States in 1852. Their ecclesiastical superior, Father Deluol, and Mother Etienne, brought about this change for Mother Seton's Daughters and henceforth St. Joseph Motherhouse at Emitsburg became allied to the French Order. Many of the schools belonging to the American Sisters passed to other communities, the French rule adopted advocating hospitals and orphanages especially. The cornette Sisters number about two thousand in their two provinces of the United States.

The SISTERS OF CHARITY OF THE INCARNATE WORD made their first American foundation in Brownsville, Texas, in 1853, but have since spread to other parts of Texas and to Mexico.

The SISTERS OF THE PRESENTATION from Ireland, having for their object the education of youth and the instruction of the poor, made an establishment in San Francisco in 1854. An English Order, the SISTERS OF THE HOLY CHILD JESUS, founded by Mrs. Connelly of Philadelphia, was established in the United States in 1862, through the instrumentality of a descendant of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The first Sisters, seven in number, crossed the ocean with Bishop Wood who tried to dissuade them from going to Towanda, their destination. Having made an unsuccessful attempt to settle there, they returned to Philadelphia and have an academy and their Motherhouse at Sharon Hill. They have schools in New York City, Chicago, Boston, and Cheyenne.

The year 1861 marks the advent of the LITTLE SISTERS OF THE POOR, now found in almost every diocese of the United States. They came from Europe through the advice of Mrs. Peter of Cincinnati and made their first American foundation in Brooklyn. In the same year, 1868, the POOR HANDMAIDS OF JESUS CHRIST took up their labors in the United States, encouraged by Bishop Luers of Fort Wayne. At the time of the Kulturkampf in Germany the community, numbering three thousand, lost many of its parochial schools, but the increasing demands in America opened fields for their work in the St. Louis, Chicago, and St. Paul Archdioceses and in the Dioceses of Fort Wayne, Belleville and Alton.

The CONGREGATION OF CHRISTIAN CHARITY was established in the Diocese of Scranton in 1873, because of the "May Laws" in Germany which forced so many religious from their convents and monasteries. This Congregation has three provinces: in Germany, North America, and South America.

The POOR CLARES who came to this country at the close of the eighteenth century and returned to Europe in the dawn of the nineteenth, seem to have made no further effort to establish themselves here until 1875, when Pope Pius IX bade two daughters of a noble Italian family, who had joined the Poor Clares, to come to the United States. They arrived in New York on October 11, 1875, and went to Cleveland where they spent several months until other Poor Clares arrived from Germany and became members of the monastery. The Italian Sisters accepted the generous offer of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Creighton to establish their monastery in Omaha. From it the convents in New Orleans and Evansville were founded and from Evansville a house in Boston. Chicago has a branch from the Cleveland convent. The life of the Poor Clares is contemplative, spent in reparation for the sins of the world and in intercession for the needs of Holy Church.

Through the influence of Mrs. S. Ward of New York, the SISTERS OF NOTRE DAME DE BON SECOURS came to America in 1882, and made their home in Lexington Avenue, New York City. Their special work is to nurse the sick in their own homes.

The Sisters who conduct the Home for the Blind in Jersey City are the SISTERS OF ST. JOSEPH OF PEACE, from Nottingham, England. They settled at Englewood, New Jersey, in 1883. They have schools and orphanages.

Among the more recent foundations in the United States, and showing the need of the times, are the MISSION HELPERS OF THE SACRED HEART and SISTERS OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT for Indians and colored people. The Mission Helpers originated in Baltimore in 1890 under the direction of the Josephite Fathers. Their work is teaching catechism, visiting the poor in their homes, keeping industrial schools for poor girls, schools for deaf-mutes, day nurseries, and preparing the dying for the last sacraments.

The SISTERS OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT, founded in 1891 by Miss Drexel of Philadelphia, have their Motherhouse at Cornwells, Pennsylvania. The object of the institute is to bring souls to our Lord in the Blessed Eucharist. The Sisters may attend the sick in their homes or in hospitals, may shelter destitute and deserving women, conduct homes for the aged, visit prisons and reformatories, but they pledged themselves to work exclusively for the Indian and colored races. They have prosperous schools in Santa Fé, New Mexico; Rock Castle, Virginia; Nashville, Tennessee; Cincinnati, Ohio; St. Michael's, Arizona, and recent foundations in New York City, Philadelphia, Columbus, Ohio, and Chicago.

The SERVANTS OF RELIEF FOR INCURABLE CANCER are a distinctively American Society, founded by Rose Hawthorne Lathrop in 1898. Previous to this date, Mrs. Lathrop had given means and services to cancer patients and had drawn others to the care of the afflicted, so that when she and her companions were received into the Dominican Order, they numbered twenty. Mrs. Lathrop was appointed superior with the name Mother Alphonsa. The work has grown and several new houses have been opened.

Contemporaneous with Mother Alphonsa's community was an Anglican society, now the SOCIETY OF THE ATONEMENT (Graymoor). All the members entered the Church on October 30, 1909. In 1910, the first house of the PASSIONIST NUNS was opened in America at Camick, Pennsylvania.

Within the last thirty years, several foundations have been made to care for the children of the Lithuanians, Poles, and other nations. Societies have been formed too, devoted to spiritual exercises, chiefly, such as the Society of the Helpers of the Holy Souls, that of our Lady of Retreat in the Cenacle, and many others. At the present time there is scarcely any need of body, soul or mind for which the Church has not supplied a remedy through the more than one hundred thousand women religious of the United States.

SISTER MARY AGNES MCCANN, Ph.D.

Mount St.-Joseph-on-the-Ohio,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

CHRONICLE

THIRD ANNUAL CONFERENCE OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY

The third annual conference of the American Hierarchy took place at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., during the third week of September. The sessions began on Tuesday, 20, and ended on Friday, 23. The following prelates attended:

WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL	Boston, Mass.
DENNIS CARDINAL DOUGHERTY	Philadelphia, Pa.

Archbishops

EDWARD J. HANNA	San Francisco, Calif.
PATRICK J. HAYES	New York, N. Y.
AUSTIN DOWLING	St. Paul, Minn.
REGIS CANEVIN	Pelusium.
JOHN W. SHAW	New Orleans, La.
MICHAEL J. CURLEY	Elect of Baltimore, Md.
JOHN J. GLENNON	St. Louis, Mo.
ALBERT T. DAEGER	Santa Fe, New Mex.
GEORGE W. MUNDELEIN	Chicago, Ill.
HENRY MOELLER	Cincinnati, Ohio.

Bishops

THOMAS J. SHAHAN	Germanicopolis
THOMAS F. LILLIS	Kansas City, Mo.
OWEN B. CORRIGAN	Adm. Baltimore, Md.
JOHN WARD	Leavenworth, Kansas
JOSEPH F. BUSCH	St. Cloud, Minn.
MICHAEL J. GALLAGHER	Detroit, Mich.
JOHN GRIMES	Syracuse, N. Y.
THOMAS E. MOLLOY	Brooklyn, N. Y.
JOHN P. CARROLL	Helena, Mont.
JOHN EDWARD GUNN	Natchez, Miss.
JOHN B. MORRIS	Little Rock, Ark.
JOHN J. CANTWELL	Monterey and Los Angeles, Calif.
MICHAEL J. HOBAN	Scranton, Pa.
JAMES O'REILLY	Fargo, North Dakota
JOSEPH P. LYNCH	Dallas, Texas
THOMAS J. WALSH	Trenton, N. J.
CHRISTOPHER E. BYRNE	Galveston, Texas
AUGUST J. SCHWERTNER	Wichita, Kansas
WILLIAM TURNER	Buffalo, N. Y.
EDMUND F. GIBBONS	Albany, N. Y.
JOHN G. MURRAY	Aux. Hartford, Conn.
JOHN J. NILAN	Hartford, Conn.
WILLIAM A. HICKEY	Providence, R. I.
DENNIS J. O'CONNELL	Richmond, Va.
A. J. SCHULER, S.J.	El Paso, Texas

Louis S. Walsh	Portland, Me.
William T. Russell	Charleston, S. C.
Joseph H. Conroy	Adm. Ogdensburg, N. Y.
James J. Hartley	Columbus, Ohio
Edward D. Kelly	Grand Rapids, Mich.
John J. McCort	Altoona, Pa.
Joseph Schrembs	Cleveland, Ohio
Hugh C. Boyle	Pittsburgh, Pa.
Francis J. Tief	Wichita, Kansas
Joseph J. Rice	Burlington, Vt.
Philip R. McDevitt	Harrisburg, Pa.
Edward P. Allen	Mobile, Ala.
John J. Monaghan	Wilmington, Del.
J. Henry Tihen	Denver, Colo.
Paul P. Rhode	Green Bay, Wis.
Francis J. Tief	Concordia, Kan.
Daniel M. Gorman	Boise, Idaho
Thomas F. Hickey	Rochester, N. Y.
Joseph Chartrand	Indianapolis, Ind.
Peter J. Muldoon	Rockford, Ill.
John M. Gannon	Erie, Pa.
Patrick Keane	Auxiliary, Sacramento, Calif.
Thomas M. O'Leary	Springfield, Mass.
Joseph S. Glass	Salt Lake
John Grimes	Syracuse, N. Y.

His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell called the Conference to order and presided at its several sessions. At the initial session His Eminence paid a glowing tribute to the late Cardinal Archbishop of Baltimore, who had originated the Annual Conference of the American Hierarchy and presided over those held in 1919 and 1920. The regular program began with the reports of the Most Reverend and Right Reverend chairmen of the several departments of the National Catholic Welfare Council; and the Council's program for the ensuing year and the budgets with which to finance the various activities to be continued, or initiated, in the course of the next twelve months were unanimously adopted.

Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, Archbishop of San Francisco, chairman of the Administrative Committee directing the activities of the Council, reported a number of definite and important accomplishments on the part of the organization since the Bishops' last meeting. This report showed that a letter on disarmament had been issued by the Administrative Committee in April; that the Catholic position on education had been made known to President Harding and that he had been informed of conditions in the Philippines; that the Council had been officially recognized and consulted by all departments of the Government on religious questions; that the Church's interests had been safeguarded in regulations governing the distribution of sacramental wines in the tariff bill, and in the immigration legislation; the Secretary of the Navy had given his approbation to Catholic work in Haiti after the subject had been brought to his attention

by the Council; the report also recounted the successful efforts that had been made in behalf of bringing foreign students to American colleges, and told of the official sanction obtained through the Council's interposition for the consecration of the graves of Catholic dead overseas; the organization of effective labor among immigrants both in this country and in the places of embarkation; the creation of an agency to assist Philippine students who come to this country for higher education; the issuance of a conservative program with respect to moving pictures and the resultful campaign against the circulation and exploitation of indecent films were other topics of the report.

Successful opposition had been exerted by the Council, Archbishop Hanna reported, to the repeal of the law forbidding the transmission through the mails of literature on birth control; the Smith-Towner bill, and the move to reduce the quota of Catholic chaplains in the army and the navy, and it had defended the Holy Father's letter on proselytizing in foreign countries; continued the work of gathering historical records of Catholic participation in the war, and issued the publication, "American Catholics in the War."

Among the proposals sanctioned was that for a Press Sunday and a Press Month. It was voted to make Sexagesima Sunday (February 19) Press Sunday, and February is to be Press Month. This suggestion was made in the report of Right Rev. W. T. Russell, chairman of the Department of Publicity, Press and Literature of the National Catholic Welfare Council.

The Bishops also gave their approbation to an octave of prayer for church unity. This octave will be January 18 to 25.

Sympathy with the Irish hierarchy and good wishes for the happy outcome of the conference between the representatives of Ireland and the English Government are expressed in a letter cabled to his Eminence Cardinal Logue, Primate of Ireland.

At the same session the Archbishops and Bishops adopted a strong resolution in favor of the limitation of armament and issued a formal statement urging upon the Catholic people of the United States the observance of Armistice Day (November 11) as a day of prayer for the success of the international conference called by President Harding to promote that cause.

Both the letter of sympathy to Cardinal Logue and the resolution in behalf of a general limitation of armament received the unanimous approval of the two Cardinals and the three score of Archbishops and Bishops attending the meeting.

The full text of the letter to Cardinal Logue is as follows:

His Eminence, Michael Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland.

Your Eminence:

In this solemn and portentous hour of Ireland's history, we, the Bishops of the United States gathered in annual conference, feel it a duty incumbent on us to extend to Your Eminence and your brethren of the Irish Hierarchy, the assurance of our sympathy, our

prayers and our united good wishes for the happy outcome of the conference in which the representatives of your people are now engaged.

Particularly at this time we are not unmindful of the tremendous debt the Church in this country owes to Ireland and its people. For more than a century the millions of your race have come to our shores and by their strong faith and their loyal and generous help, they have built up a Church which has become the pride of Christendom and the glory of the country in which we dwell. And even though they have become loyal Americans, faithful to the flag under which they dwell, time has never been able to extinguish in their souls the love they bore to the land of their fathers, to the little island from which they parted as exiles destined never to return.

And particularly during these recent years, with anxious and expectant hearts they have watched the trend of events, ever hopeful that Providence in its wisdom might ordain that at last Ireland was to take its place among the nations of the earth.

And indeed, during these latter weeks their hearts were filled with pride when they saw the representatives of their race conduct themselves with a statesmanship that has challenged the admiration of the world.

Therefore, in this fateful hour, when the future of Ireland trembles in the balance, it is not our desire, Your Eminence, by any word of ours to peril the outcome of those deliberations upon which a world waits with bated breath. Rather, in the true spirit of our Holy Faith, united with our people from every race and from every station, our prayers ascend from every altar in the land that God in His wisdom may bring Ireland's misery of seven hundred years to an end, that this most apostolic race among all of God's peoples may receive the reward for what they have done for the Church of America and elsewhere by obtaining the fulfillment of their national aspirations.

And finally, that God may grant you and your colleagues to live to see Ireland's golden age, and find your people even more faithful to their Church in the sunburst of their new freedom than ever they were in the years of their exile and expectancy.

Your Eminence's devoted servants in Christ,

THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF THE UNITED STATES.

On the subject of the movement to bring about an international agreement for the limitation of armament the Bishops issued the following statement on disarmament:

Following not merely dutifully, but with a full conviction of its supreme importance, the expressed desire of our Holy Father, Pope Benedict XV, that steps be taken to lift the crushing burden of heavy armaments from the overburdened shoulders of the peoples and nations of the world, and gratefully recalling the fact that the Father of Christendom first proclaimed the necessity of united action

to secure this end, we commend most heartily the spirit and the measures so far adopted by the President of the United States in summoning the representatives of the great nations to meet in Washington in November to discuss and carry into effect a limitation of armaments by all the nations, and we call upon the Catholic people of the United States to set apart Armistice Day, November 11, the day of the opening of the Conference, as a day of special prayer that God's blessing may rest upon the conference and that His Holy Spirit may guide its deliberations toward hastening that era of peace and good will for which the stricken peoples of the earth hope and pray and labor.

The officers of the Administrative Committee of the Welfare Council were unanimously re-elected. They are: Most Rev. Archbishop Hanna, chairman; Right Rev. P. J. Muldoon, vice-chairman; Most Rev. Austin Dowling, treasurer, and Rev. Dr. John F. Fenlon, S.S., secretary.

His Eminence Cardinal Dougherty resigned from the chairmanship of the Department of Laws and Legislation of the Council and from the Administrative Committee. Right Rev. Louis S. Walsh, Bishop of Portland, was elected to succeed Cardinal Dougherty as a member of the committee, and Right Rev. Edmund F. Gibbons of Albany, becomes chairman of the Department of Laws and Legislation. Bishop Gibbons was already a member of the Administrative Committee, but was not chairman of a department of the Council.

FIRST CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC MEN

The call for courageous Catholic leadership in all that makes for the best in national life will be voiced by representative Catholic laymen in all parts of the United States as a result of the inspiration furnished by men high in the councils of the nation and prelates of the church at the convention of the National Council of Catholic Men.

Forty church dignitaries listened to Senator David I. Walsh of Massachusetts sound that call in an eloquent address delivered to more than two thousand laymen who gathered at the great mass meeting in the Catholic University.

"The time has come," said Senator Walsh, "for the laity to take its own place in the work of service; in the work of giving; in the work of doing, here in the United States. It is a difficult undertaking; it is a tremendous responsibility. It is easily misunderstood; it is easily misrepresented, but no man ever accomplished anything in life without courage, and no cause ever succeeded that was led by a band of cowards.

"This movement must first of all have the unqualified, enthusiastic support of our spiritual leaders, our God-given guides, the hierarchy of the Church. It must be another army in their pioneer work in America for the promotion of principle."

The meeting, which voiced the sentiments of assembled delegates, reiterated at various phases of the convention held in the Willard Hotel,

also was addressed by Archbishop Edward J. Hanna of San Francisco, chairman of the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic Welfare Council; Bishop Joseph Schrembs of Cleveland, chairman of the Department of Lay Organizations, and Admiral William S. Benson, K.S.G.

Admiral Benson spoke on behalf of the Catholic laymen of the United States.

"If, a year hence," he declared, "it can be said that the Catholic manhood of this country is truly mobilized under the direction of the hierarchy, it will be unnecessary for us to assemble in small groups at any place in this broad land of ours to register our protests against actual or contemplated violation of our birthright and heritage."

Archbishop Hanna blamed the modern drift of education toward materialism as the fundamental cause for the present unrest.

"For more than a century," he said, "the princes of the earth, the great captains and scientists, have stood up against Christ and have proclaimed the mastery of science. Their dream was shattered by the war and men now looking for a return to sanity in the world turn to religion."

Senator Walsh was introduced by Bishop Schrembs, who declared that "it is gratifying tonight that we have with us one who has not feared to raise his voice in the Senate of the United States to declare that Ireland as well as other nations has the right to be free."

An impressive plea for toleration to all races and a call to American Catholics to support the approaching conference on the limitation of armament was made by the Senator from Massachusetts, who recalled that Pope Benedict was the first great international leader to call for the limitation of armament, if not disarmament, as a measure whereby universal peace could be secured.

He attacked the idea that a citizen can not be a good American without a knowledge of the language, declaring that "A man who can not speak a word of English can serve the American flag and die for it as well as the best English scholar in the country."

A cordial reception was given to the delegates to the convention at the Executive Mansion by President Harding. The delegates were introduced to the President by Admiral William S. Benson, and each was greeted with a hearty handclasp as the head of the nation smiled and expressed his cordial greetings.

The most enthusiastic demonstration of the entire convention at the Willard Hotel greeted the announcement of the election of Admiral William S. Benson as president of the National Council of Catholic Men. Delegates cheered and clapped for several minutes after the new president was escorted to the chair.

"We have a Hindenburg line to break," said Admiral Benson in accepting the office, "and we can not do it unless we have the united and wholehearted support of the Catholic men and women of the country. With this honor goes a tremendous responsibility; if it were not for my interest and belief that this movement will succeed and become one of the greatest movements ever inaugurated, I would not have accepted this post. We must muster our armies and it is up to you men to localize your forces.

If that is done I will lead you through Belleau Wood and break the Hindenburg line."

Thomas F. Flynn of Chicago was elected national vice-president; Judge P. J. M. Hally of Detroit, national secretary; Charles I. Denechaud of New Orleans, national treasurer, and Michael J. Slattery, LL.D., national executive secretary.

The members of the executive committee elected were as follows:

Admiral William S. Benson, Washington; John D. Ryan, New York; Richmond Dean, Chicago; W. P. Horan, Denver; Walter I. Johnson, Cincinnati, O.; Judge James E. Deery, Indianapolis; Edward J. Tobin, San Francisco; Joseph M. Tally, Providence; C. A. Beeby, Hays, Kansas; F. P. Kenkel, St. Louis; Charles I. Denechaud, New Orleans; Thomas F. Flynn, Chicago; Michael J. Hurley, St. Paul, and Francis J. Sullivan, Brooklyn.

One of the most important problems discussed at the convention was that concerning the immigration problem.

A plea for the support of the Men's Council in carrying out the work of caring for the Mexicans who cross the border into the United States and who are subject to a vigorous campaign of proselytizing by Protestant denominations was made by A. W. Norcrop, the delegate of the El Paso diocese. As a result an appropriation of $25,000 for the work among the Mexicans was announced to be carried out under the auspices of the Social Action Department of the National Catholic Welfare Council.

Resolutions were adopted affirming the allegiance of the convention to the principles of Christian education, opposing State or Federal control of education, supporting the aims of the forthcoming disarmament conference, denouncing the divorce evil, urging relief for the unemployment and the adoption of measures that will relieve the unemployment situation, urging the formation of social study clubs, requesting cooperation of units in the compilation of Catholic war records, endorsing the establishment of a National Training School for Men, approving of the National Catholic Welfare Council's program for cleaner motion pictures, and expressing the hope that "in a final settlement between our Government and the Government of Mexico the civil and religious rights of Catholics will be conserved."

A resolution was also adopted expressing the hope that "the leaders of the Irish people may bring out of the diplomatic interchange now taking place the form of government acceptable to the Irish people as a nation, and permit of their immediate return to prosperity and the attainment of growth and proper national position before the world."

The resolution on the disarmament conference, which was one most vigorously debated in committee, contained a clause declaring that "we are of the opinion that the United States, while leading in the purpose of limitation of armament, should see to it that all times sufficient means of protection be maintained to meet any purpose on the part of any government on earth to intimidate, or to neutralize the position of our government in the protection of its interests."

Messages pledging the loyalty of the delegates to the Holy Father, and pledging the delegates to support the President of the United States and

"work with him in his desire to see the country thrive and be honored by the peoples of the world" were sent by the convention.

A review of the work of the Catholic Laymen's Association of Georgia was given by the Very Rev. Joseph D. Mitchell, Vicar-General of the Diocese of Savannah. The Rev. Daniel J. Daly, who has just returned from France as representative of the National Catholic Welfare Council explained the "Boy Scout Movement in France."

During the sessions the delegates were addressed by the Most Rev. Edward J. Hanna, the Right Rev. P. J. Muldoon, the Right Rev. Joseph F. Busch, and the Right Rev. Daniel M. Gorman.

CONVENTION OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CATHOLIC CHARITIES

More than 3,000 delegates, priests, nuns, and laity registered for the Convention of the National Conference of Catholic Charities which held its sessions in Milwaukee during the last week of September. The delegates represented all parts of the United States and Canada, and there were also some delegates from Mexico.

The conference opened Sunday forenoon with a Pontifical High Mass at the Cathedral, celebrated by Bishop Paul Rhode of Green Bay, Wis. Bishop John T. McNicholas of Duluth preached the sermon. Bishop McNicholas gave a survey of charity from the days of paganism to the present time. "Charity today is the same as in former days," he said, "but today the methods are different." Continuing Bishop McNicholas said:

The church in her charity goes out to everyone. She knows neither race, nor creed, nor color in observing the command to love one's neighbor. You may not enter into a conference which claims the right to reject the fact of three persons in God and the fact of Christ's Divinity, but you can and should be a brother to him who makes these denials in bringing to him relief and in alleviating his suffering. You can have conferences with all who will discuss every welfare problem without disturbing the religious beliefs or interfering with the spiritual care of our people.

We Catholics have a duty in forming public opinion on every question of interest to the community at large. We are exceptionally well qualified to bring to conferences, to legislative halls, to administrative work, principles of Christian charity not only sound in theory but tested in practice for centuries. There is surely great need of crystallizing public Catholic opinion on charity. Those familiar with state controlled charities realize their limitations and defects. The state can be assured of our unfailing good will and of our earnest desire to co-operate. We as Catholics have the same claim for our poor and dependent classes as any other citizens of the city, state or nation. As it is in the interest of the state to encourage private charities we can reasonably hope for that encouragement which our members' service and loyalty deserve. We approach public charity only as citizens.

Our good will and co-operation and willingness for co-ordination must never be interpreted as delegating to any other private charity or even

the public charity of the state the care and direction of the spiritual interests of those for whom we are responsible before God.

Every parish should realize its obligation of giving a certain portion of its total revenue for the year to charity. One-fourth of all parish revenue in the early church was set aside for charity.

We must take all that philanthropists, social and charitable workers have to offer. Whatever is of advantage either in theory or practice we should link up with the charity of Christ.

The convention was in session five days and the addresses made and reports read covered a wide range of subjects related to charity.

Many exhibits of the handiwork of Catholic institutions—orphanages, blind and deaf homes and harbors for crippled children—were shown at the convention.

The Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, rector of the Catholic University, was re-elected National President of the conference.

The other officers elected included Mrs. Nicholas Brady, New York; J. A. McMurray, Boston; Mrs. Mary Young Moore, Los Angeles and Mrs. F. J. Lewis, Chicago, vice-presidents; Rev. John O'Grady, Washington, secretary; Mrs. Frank Crowe, Chicago, assistant secretary; Judge William H. De Lacey, Washington, treasurer. The executive committee elected includes: Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, Washington; Rev. William J. Kirby, Washington; Robert Briggs, Baltimore; Victor Ridder, New York; Mrs. R. P. O'Brien, Minneapolis; Rev. Moses Kiley, Chicago; William L. Igoe, St. Louis; James Murphy, Detroit; Very Rev. Francis O'Hara, Brooklyn; Miss Katherin Williams, Milwaukee; Rev. Michael Scanlan, Boston; Rev. F. T. Wastl, Philadelphia; Sister Eugenia, St. Louis; Rev. Frank Gessel, Cincinnati; Colonel P. H. Callahan, Louisville.

MISCELLANY

THE CAMBRIDGE BIBLE CONGRESS

Those who visited the Catholic Bible Congress which was held at Cambridge, the historic county town of Cambridgeshire, England, from July 16 to 19, must have asked themselves if the old university town, whose noblest monuments are reminders of its Catholic origin, were not making rapid strides towards the recovery of its former heritage. For then once it seemed to have struck out the dark history of the Reformation from its annals as it opened its gates to receive Cardinals Gasquet and Bourne and tender them a civic and an academic welcome. One must think in terms of history to realize the full import of what took place on Saturday night, July 16, at the Cambridge Guildhall, when the Mayor of the Borough and Sir Arthur Shipley, on behalf of the University, greeted the two Princes of the church.

The origin of Cambridge University, which opened its doors to this great Congress, is obscure. Though we may disregard the various fables of its foundation by a Spanish King, Cantaber; by King Arthur; by a Saxon King, Sigebert; and by Gislebert and his three companion monks of Croyland, in the fen country, it seems probable that the university originated in some local movement during the twelfth century, augmented, as time went on, by such influences as the migration of Oxford students thither in 1209 and of students from Paris in 1229. As early as 1231 a chancellor is mentioned in a royal writ and two years later the university received papal recognition. To the Benedictine Order belongs the honor of having established the first college within the university, St. Peter's, better known as Peterhouse. It was founded in 1284 by Hugh de Balsham, monk and sometime prior of Ely, and Bishop of Ely from 1257 to 1286; and its constitution and statutes were modelled on those of Merton College, Oxford, founded twelve years previously by Walter de Merton, Bishop of Rochester. Thirteen of the existing colleges are pre-Reformation foundations, and three more were established in the sixteenth century. The three hundred subsequent years of Protestantism have produced but a single benefactor to emulate the achievements of Catholic times; and Downing College, founded in 1800, is the only one which has had its rise in the last three centuries.

Cambridge had been turned into a stronghold of Protestantism after the reign of Mary Tudor, and it was only in the latter half of the last century that it again became possible for a practicing Catholic to take a degree at this former seat of Catholic learning. But the steady growth of Catholicism throughout the country has had its influence on Cambridge, as elsewhere, and during the recent Congress one had a strong impression that the prayers of her whose glories are sung by the Gothic arches, the stained-glass windows, and even by the very stones of the world-famed town, are already bringing the land back to the Faith. An Englishman no longer means a Protestant, a fact which was conveyed in an eloquent speech made by the Mayor of Cambridge Borough, himself a Nonconformist.

The Cambridge Bible Congress was summoned by the Hierarchy of

England in order to carry out the desire of the Holy Father that the fifteenth centenary of St. Jerome, author of the Vulgate version, be commemorated by a renewal of interest in biblical study. This fact was emphasized by Bishop Burton of Clifton, the preacher at High Mass on the opening day. He pointed out that the Scriptures were the treasure of the Catholic Church. She was their inflexible champion, and their Divinely guided interpreter. The church read the Scriptures in the light that God Himself bestowed, and her teaching had changed the face of the world. He ended with the claim that the Catholic Church was the historic Church of England:

> This was the church of our forefathers for 1,000 years, during which the foundations of England's true greatness were laid, and when England was, despite many drawbacks, what she is not now, Merry England; the church gave us Bede, our Dunstan, our Anslem, Stephen Langton and Thomas of Canterbury, and last of a long line of saintly bishops, the Blessed Martyr John Fisher, still held in high honor in this ancient seat of learning, this proud but kind and hospitable seat of learning, that owed and still owes him so much.

The most notable event of the Congress was Cardinal Gasquet's lecture on the Vulgate. He said that his task would be a simple one, mainly that of illustrating the processes by which they hoped to bring to a happy conclusion the revision of the Latin text of the Bible. His Eminence disclaimed any biblical scholarship; he had merely organized the work that Pope Pius X had placed upon his shoulders and entrusted to the Benedictine Order, with instructions to carry it out with the most scientific procedure possible.

When the Commission was appointed in 1907 by Pius X, they were told that their end and object were mainly to recover as far as possible the Latin text of St. Jerome, that which St. Jerome considered the nearest equivalent to the original Greek or Hebrew texts—Hebrew especially in the Old Testament—which were then extant. Even in the time of St. Jerome and St. Augustine many Latin texts of the Bible, made by copyists from time to time, were thought to be ancient texts, and great and sometimes very serious differences had crept in; and it was to remedy these differences that Pope St. Damasus gave the task to St. Jerome to examine first of all the New Testament: the Pope had placed upon St. Jerome the same task that his successor had placed upon the present Commission. As to St. Jerome's competence for that task, the learned world was at one in the conviction that in the church there could not have been any man who showed such competence, such familiarity with the sacred texts as St. Jerome. He had means that we no longer possess of comparing texts that no longer exist. Today there were not more than two or three Greek Manuscripts that went back to the time of St. Jerome, who after having completed the New Testament turned his attention to the Psalms.

The Cardinal threw upon the screen first of all a portrait of Pius X, who placed the organization of the work upon his shoulders and instructed that it should be done by the best methods and that no necessary expense

was to be spared. To get funds for this work His Eminence had visited America, where the Americans had been very generous. A picture of St. Jerome followed, and subsequent slides showed the Papal letter giving the terms of reference to the Commission, a special blessing to anyone who should help in the work, and a letter signed by Cardinal Merry del Val, commending on the part of the Pope the project for collecting funds. Photographs were shown also of the board-room of the Commission at San Callisto, with its cupboards containing mounted and bound photographs of biblical manuscripts. There were, said the lecturer, in the hands of the Commission between 30,000 and 40,000 photographs, one manuscript alone filling twenty folio volumes. The process of photographing was explained, and by means of slides His Eminence showed the great care taken in the work of collation, the method of marginal correction, and the collection of various capitulars and prefaces. "It's no end of a job," he added; but the work was necessary, for the honor of the church, and devoted men were giving their lives to it. They worked without pay, but they could not work without food. He himself was no biblical scholar, but by getting together the means he enabled the Biblical scholars to get on with the work.

His Eminence showed how, by the system of photographing and cross-references adopted, mistakes were eliminated—for in the matter of making mistakes nobody was infallible. He showed in another slide a proof of the kind of text they hoped to get as the result of their labors. They had progressed with the work much more quickly since they decided to found a text on several principal manuscripts; it would be almost impossible to found a text on all the manuscripts which had been examined. Differences in the readings were scheduled in the pages of the Commission's "Great Register," of which a facsimile page was thrown on the screen.

Cardinal Gasquet then dealt with a number of interesting facts and details connected with many of the manuscripts. He referred, for instance, to a practice which began in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries of making inversions in form from the readings of St. Jerome's own text. In exhibiting pages from ancient Irish texts, or texts written in Italy or in England by Irish hands, the lecturer alluded to the crude drawing of human figures which synchronized with the magnificent geometrical decorative art characteristic of the Irish school. A people, he said, who could draw patterns, as the Irish could, must have been able to draw the human figure, and he advanced the theory that they did not do so from a superstition that such drawing would be wrong; he also thought that Irish art had come originally from the East; the early pattern work had the same characteristics as art work from Benares and other Eastern cities.

The Cardinal passed on to the *Codex Amiatinus*, a late seventh-century work which it had been proved beyond doubt was written in England. An inscription on the front page stated that the volume had been given by one Peter the Lombard to the monastery at Amiatum—hence its name; but the name of the donor appeared to have been written in over another name which had been erased. An appeal to scholarship to elucidate the matter resulted in a letter from Dr. Hort, the great Cambridge scholar, who pointed out that the inscription on the first page of the Codex was

identical with that mentioned by Bede as having been contained in a similar work presented by "Ceolfridus Anglorum." Three copies of St. Jerome's new version had been made by the monks at Monkwearmouth from a copy brought from Rome by St. Benet Biscop; of these three copies one was written for Monkwearmouth, one for Jarrow, and the third for the Pope, and this third copy was lost on the way and was now identified in the *Codex Amiatinus*. A few stray leaves of the other two copies had been found, one of them having been part of a bookbinding of 1798, showing that in order to stiffen his covers the bookbinder had been engaged in tearing up this biblical treasure.

His Eminence showed slides of a page of Alcuin's ninth-century Vulgate, undertaken by command of Charlemagne and written—the first example of its kind—in the script of the school of Tours, of a character between the older uncial lettering and the modern form of script. He also showed pages from the Lindisfarne Gospels, decorated with drawings of obviously Byzantine character. The late Mr. Edwin Bishop, to whom the Cardinal paid a high tribute, had read the riddle of the appearance of these drawings by suggesting that the Irish scribe copied them from drawings brought from the East in the time of Theodore. The lecture closed with an interesting account of a new Italian system for recovering the original writing on palimpsests. Finally, a portrait of Benedict XV enabled the lecturer to speak of the generosity of the present Pontiff in meeting the yearly deficit on the cost of the work of the Commission. Some American bishops, said Cardinal Gasquet, had written suggesting the possibility of an annual subsidy from America towards a work regarded as of such great importance. American enterprise in another direction was amusingly illustrated by a supplementary slide from a newspaper picture purporting to be that of "Abbot Gasquet, O.S.B.," but in reality a portrait, in habit, of the Dominican lay-brother at Santa Sabina on the Aventine.

Towards the close of the Congress Canon Barry, author of *The Tradition of Scripture* and other noteworthy books dealing with church polity and kindred topics, precipitated a serious discussion by his assertion that if Catholics are to persuade the English nation to become Catholic, they must prove to men that they are not giving up the Word of God, and that it is impossible to supplant the authorized version familiar to the English-speaking world with any new translation, however excellent. He said further:

We cannot unmake history; neither can we so deal with a haughty people proud of their own literature, as in Milton's words, to set

> "Upon their tongues a various spirit to raze
> Quite out their native language."

Whatever we might in such ways attempt would remain provincial by no fault of ours. There is only one English Bible; there can never be another. It is an inheritance from the creative period when verbal inspiration came upon Spenser, Shakespeare and the translators of the Holy Scripture in a flood, the like of which we have never since known. What is left for any Bible Congress? To amend errors in rendering the original,

and this demands scholarship; to supply glosses on expressions now obsolete; and a modest margin would furnish them without doing violence to the text. How complete a failure efforts more daring are likely to prove the Revised Version has proved more than once. We are the "latest seed of time" and for that reason we cannot modernize the "Iliad," rewrite the "Divine Comedy" or substitute for the chief masterpiece of English religious composition a work of our own.

Putting it aside on whatever grounds, we must give up the notion that between Catholics and the people of these countries and America the Bible will afford a place of meeting. Does any man dream that in some future age the Douai Bible, revised ever so much, or a new translation made tomorrow, will supersede the ancient text of which innumerable traces are everywhere discernible, not only in preachers, but in poets, historians, novelists, in essays and journalism, and in common speech? If not, our Catholic Bible will be a hindrance, not a help, and a second rate performance which merely adds to the general confusion among Christians.

One thing should be kept in mind. No vernacular version of Holy Scripture is an "authority" or "authentic" in the sense laid down at the Council of Trent. Hence, the problem which a conference handles is one of popular use and profit; it is concerned with language and devotion, and with the propagation of the faith among those to whom the Bible has been known for centuries in a definite shape, while the substance of it is orthodox.

The Canon's viewpoint was opposed by several prominent scholars, among them Monsignor Barton Brown, a convert, who declared that if such a course as that proposed by Canon Barry were taken, converts would say that the church was beginning to give way. A correspondent who was present at the Congress says:

Many came away from the Congress convinced that, perhaps more than the erudition and intellect that were so much in evidence as an asset of Catholicism in England, it was the spirit of that entire gathering which is a guarantee for the expansion of the church in this country. It displayed not only absolute, unquestionable devotion to the Mighty Mother, but a shrinking from the mere suggestion of anything which might savour of a concession to national traditions, custom, likes, and dislikes where the honor of the church is concerned. This was well shown in an extempore discussion on the advantages or otherwise of adopting the corrected Authorized Version in place of the Douai Bible. The thunderous applause which greeted the opponents of the suggestion left no doubt as to the feelings of that vast audience. Not an iota of Catholic tradition would that people yield. However rhythmic the swinging cadences of the authorized Protestant version, the Catholics of England would not forfeit the glories of the Douai Bible. It might contain barbarisms (from these the Authorized Version is even less immune, as one of the speakers pointed out); it might be poorer prose; but it was that Bible which the Martyrs of the Faith had clasped to their bosoms as they went to the scaffold. How could we therefore be asked to exchange it for a Bible which was even now on the Index?

THE CATHOLIC PRESS IN HOLLAND, BELGIUM, FRANCE, HUNGARY AND ITALY

Holland

In Holland there are at the present time 26 Catholic dailies, besides 8 tri-weeklies' 22 bi-weeklies, 84 weeklies and 98 magazines, mostly monthlies. All these papers evidently enjoy fair support, since their list, despite the high price of paper and the increase of wages and of salaries, has been steadily lengthening since 1914, when the Holland Catholic Year-Book enumerated but seventeen dailies, 69 weeklies, 29 tri- and bi-weeklies and 54 monthlies.

How do the Dutch Catholics manage to make that splendid showing?

First of all through the watchfulness of the clergy and their insistence in and out of season upon the duty, not only of supporting the Catholic press, but of subscribing to Catholic, to the exclusion of non-Catholic papers. The priests are incited to zeal for the Catholic press by the Bishops. For instance, in the Statutes of the Pro-synodal Council held at Haarlem, Dec. 13, 1909, Bishop Carlier pointed with particular stress to a passage of the Provincial Council which reads: "We urgently exhort our priests to bestow more attention in their pastoral visits to what is read by the faithful, principally to what papers they receive in their homes, and prudently to inquire about it in the Sacrament of Penance. They should not hesitate in the least to speak the well-known 'non licet', 'that may not be' to those who fail on that head; for the reasons which excused some formerly can no longer be adduced, since the Catholic papers now supply whatever information any one needs".

The zeal of the clergy has stimulated the people—the leaders, to share in the Apostolate of the press, the rank and file, to follow their leaders' watchword: "Buy only Catholic papers!"

In October, 1912, the Supreme Board of the Union of Catholic Travelers notified all the hotels and restaurants that their members would patronize only such establishments as provided Catholic as well as other papers for the use of their guests. Catholic propaganda clubs make it a point to insist with the Church societies everywhere to have the members advertise their business, trades and professions in Catholic papers exclusively. One organization, *De St. Willibrordus Vereeniging*, has for its special object the dissemination of Catholic literature.

It is the sound Catholic spirit, therefore, that deserves a large share of the credit for the existence of a real, live Catholic press in Holland. That press itself, moreover, is strongly organized to maintain a high standard, to deserve the people's support and to secure for the men who devote themselves to Catholic journalism adequate remuneration. *De Nederlandsche R. K. Journalisten Vereeniging* groups all the Catholic writers whose principal occupation is reporting or editorial writing. It edits a professional periodical—*Mededeelingen*. The newspaper managers have their organization as well—*De Nederlandsche R. K. Directeuren Vereeniging*.

How does the Catholic press compare with the neutral and liberal press? Very favorably indeed. The Catholic papers give regularly the associated telegraphic news, the market quotations, the latest sportive records, etc., just as the other papers do, from which they differ only the Catholic tone which pervades editorials, correspondence and news columns.

Most dailies are local or provincial, issued in the larger centers and thence radiating through the country. In the Catholic Provinces they hold the field

without outside competition. So do the *Limburger Koerier* published at Maastricht and *Het Limburgsch Dagblad* published at Heerlen. There is scarcely a house in Limburg without either the daily or tri-weekly edition of one of these papers. As a premium they confer upon every one of their subscribers an accident policy of 3,000 gulden.

Besides the papers of a more local character, there are some three or four whose circulation extends throughout the country. The leading one and the pride of Dutch Catholic journalistic enterprise is *De Maasbode*, a paper with morning and evening editions, published at Rotterdam. Its business reports for all branches of foreign and home trade are so reliable and so exhaustive that it finds favor with many non-Catholics and nullifies the threadbare excuse of the necessity to look to the secular press for information.

The country and the Catholic population are too small to maintain more than one high standard Catholic paper of the *Maasbode* type. With the Judeo-Masonic press in the field, that journal had a long and a gallant fight before it could wedge itself into the business circles and oust it from Catholic business offices. It was only through the active and concerted action of clergymen, merchants and professionals, who organized themselves for the purpose some years ago, and thanks to liberal donations from its readers to improve its make-up and general efficiency that it attained the standing which makes it the peer of any paper published in the land.

Another Catholic journal widely circulated among the educated classes is *De Tyd*, of Amsterdam. Founded seventy-five years ago, it enjoys the distinction of being the oldest Catholic paper in Holland. It does not appeal to business men of the modern type; sticks to ultra-conservative notions of journalism; prints learned column-long dissertations, continued in several issues, on burning questions of the day, that would do very well in a high class magazine, but that the general public hardly looks for in the daily purveyor of news. It as well as *De Maasbode* has excellent foreign correspondents.

Belgium

Belgium lays claim to the honor of having given birth to the first printed newspaper—*Nieuwe Tydinghen*—published at Antwerp in the year 1605 by Abraham Verhoeven. It preceded by fourteen years the first English Journal, *The London Gazette* (1619), and by sixty-eight years the first American printed news purveyor, *The Mayflower*, issued at Cambridge, Mass., in 1673.

Another claim set up by the Belgian newspaper world is, that to it belongs the oldest existing paper, the *Gazette van Gent*, whose maiden issue dates back to the year 1667. It belongs to the list of the thirty-one Catholic papers printed in the land to day. That list numbered thirty-six before the war. Four new ones, representing new tendencies, were launched since, whilst nine felt deterred by the increased cost of publication from rising out of the war-time lethargy; for Catholic papers in Belgium are business propositions in the hands of the laity, with here and there an odd clergyman as an adjuvant in the editorial sanctum. They have, apart from the defence of the essentials of the faith, policies of their own, ofttimes standing for issues with which the Bishops are at variance. This is the case now with the Flemish question, which is too warmly espoused, according to Cardinal Mercier, by some Flemish papers and too bitterly opposed according to Bishop Rutten, of Liège, by the journals of French "expression".

Generally the papers have cropped up to meet the special needs of the times.

Thus in Brussels, where eight out of seventeen are Catholic dailies, the most widely known and the one that has the largest subscription list of Belgium's seventy dailies (sixteen less than before the war), made its first bow to the public in 1884, as a result of the Eucharistic Congress of Liège (1883). The ravages caused to the Faith by the so-called Liberal Press were there called to the Congressists' attention in words that struck the religious chords of an experienced journalist's heart. He knew where the fault lay. The existing Catholic papers were not combative enough; they were too sedate and too dogmatical, not sufficiently attractive for the ordinary reader, thus leaving a free field to the scoffing anti-Catholic Press, which was read, because in other things it moved on with the times.

Victor Jourdain, such was the newspaper man's name, had a rich capital of good will and talent, but no cash. He appealed to the Catholic public to subscribe 50-franc quotas, which would be returned if the enterprise turned out fair, but would be lost in a good cause if it failed. But it did not fail: it was a paying experiment from the start; everybody was reimbursed; and Victor Jourdain became the owner and manager of *Le Patriote*, as well-edited a paper as there was in Belgium. It worked its way into every nook and corner of the land, and so took the people's fancy that to its influence was given the credit for the success of the elections in 1884. They overthrew the Liberal Ministry and lifted the Catholics into power, a power which they maintained for the space of thirty years and even now share with the two other great political parties—Liberals and Socialists.

To the first venture the successful editor of *Le Patriote* added others at intervals: a cheaper daily edition, *Le National*, which competed with the best of its kind for the favors of the small bourgeoise and of the working classes; *Le National Liègeois*, which sought out the same classes of readers in the Walloon Province of Liège; two high-class Sunday illustrated magazines, *Le Patriote Illustré* and *L'Illustration Européenne;* the cheaper, *National Illustré*; and for the Flemish public, *Het Huisgezin*. The combined circulation of these papers was estimated before the war to reach 180,000 copies a day. They all suspended publication when the war broke out. Mr. Jourdain was too good a patriot and too honest to print a line under censure of the enemy. Instead he launched with the Jesuit, Père Paquet, and a manufacturer, Mr. Van Doren, the famous clandestine weekly *La Libre Belgique*, of which a prominent German official said, that it was worth an army corps in combating German influence. It comforted the Belgians throughout the dark days of the long drawn-out struggle, maintaining their faith in ultimate victory, even then when the enemy's successes were at their apogee. It so conquered their hearts by the ability, humor and fearlessness with which it attacked week after week the invader, that when the armistice came, they rejoiced to see the Jourdain firm discard the title *Le Patriote* for that of *La Libre Belgique*.

The founder, Mr. V. Jourdain, died lately, but his children—and there are a shrewd many—run all the papers of the Company of *Le Patriote*. Such is almost invariably the case in Belgium: a Catholic paper is the property of a Catholic family, and it is transmitted from father to son, ofttimes for generations. This is the case for instance with the most-widely read Flemish Catholic daily of the Capital, *Het Nieuws van den Dag*, which averages a daily edition of seventy thousand copies. In a small country, where the journal that claims the largest circulation, *Le Soir*, sells no more than 150,000 copies a day, 70,000 is a very good showing indeed. When *Het Nieuws van den Dag* printed but 40,000 copies a day and sold for two-fifths of a cent, yielded its owner, Mr. Huyghe, a net yearly income of fifty thousand francs.

France

Catholic journalism in France has a peculiar history. The first Catholic daily was *l'Avenir*, founded in Paris in 1830 by the Abbé de Lammenais, with the co-operation of Lacordaire and Montalembert. It had a short existence, and was discontinued for lack of funds towards the end of the following year. It never had more than three thousand subscribers. Short-lived though it was *l'Avenir* acquired a reputation for "advanced" opinions, and it provoked a Papal Encyclical ("Mirari vos"), under date August 15, 1832, in which Gregory XVI condemned some of the ideas advanced in its columns. At the same time a letter from Cardinal Pacca informed de Lammenais, editor of *l'Avenir* that the Pope had been pained to see him discuss publicly questions which belonged to the authority of the Church.

Another newspaper destined to gain much notoriety and wield great influence was established by the Abbé Migne in 1834. This was *l'Univers* which in later years passed into the hands of Louis Veuillot "the incomparable journalist and one of the greatest writers in France". *L'Univers* at the beginning was not a financial success, and it was rescued from insolvency in 1838 by Montalembert with whom Veuillot became associated in 1843. Seven years later Veuillot found himself in conflict with his former collaborator and with several French Bishops, notably Dupanloup, the militant prelate of Orleans. *L'Univers*, after the death of Louis Veuillot, was edited by his brother, Eugene Veuillot, a very brilliant polemist, who continued to edit it till 1905.

It is difficult to say precisely how many Catholic papers there are in France to-day, as no positive separation exists between Catholic newspapers and others. For instance, in Paris, *La Croix* alone is exclusively Catholic and religious. Besides, the *Libre Parole* proclaims itself the organ of Social Catholics, the disciples of Albert de Mun; it publishes weekly an extra sheet under the headline of "Catholic Life and Thought". But it is to be noticed that a great number of political newspapers in Paris which do not boast of being expressly Catholic, and do not cater to a Catholic following exclusively, show the friendliest of dispositions towards Catholics, have as editors good Catholics, uphold Catholic claims and number a large proportion of their readers among Catholic people.

Such is the case with *L'Echo de Paris*, which stands for the politics of the Moderate Right Party and is read mostly by the society folk, officers, intellectuals, and has among its contributors such men as Mgr. Baudrillart, Mgr. Julien, Bishop of Arras and René Bazin, president of the Association of Christian Journalists. The same is true of the *Gaulois*, which numbers among its subscribers a great many Bishops.

In Paris there are nine important daily papers with a joint circulation of about 1,500,000 which are Catholic, or under Catholic influence, and at least eight others that are neutral; while seven may be classed as actively hostile.

In the Provinces, there are about 350 daily newspapers, of which about twenty exceed a daily printing list of 50,000 copies. In the north of France, the majority of these great daily papers are favorably disposed towards Catholics. In the South it is quite the opposite, and most of the papers nurse rather hostile feelings. Unfortunately these hostile radical newspapers, very well managed and disseminated, find their way even into Catholic homes.

No accurate figures can be given for the weekly papers, their number generally increasing at the time of electoral campaigns. Now, on account of the present high cost of paper, the figure is rather low, and may be estimated at 1,800. The total printing list does not exceed 7 or 8 million copies weekly. In Paris, *Le Pèlerin* (an

extra weekly edition of the Catholic paper *La Croix*) prints 600,000 copies. It is the most widely spread paper of all French weeklies.

In every department (a department practically corresponds to a diocese) there is a weekly *Croix* which, oftentimes, is the most widely read. Of course, there is also in each diocese a *Semaine Religieuse*, which generally records the various communications from the Bishop.

So far as weekly periodicals are concerned, the Catholic papers, or those with Catholic tendencies, exceed all others in circulation. The two leading illustrated weeklies, *L'Illustration* and *Le Monde Illustré* are both very favorably disposed towards Catholics. As regards the great magazines which cater more particularly to an intellectual public, the two most important of them, *La Revue Des Deux Mondes* and *Le Correspondant*, are also quite friendly.

Upon the whole the Catholic press in France certainly over-balances the anti-Catholic as regards news and circulation. But, on the other hand, it is outdistanced by the neutral press. This latter, organized on a purely commercial basis, is often better equipped, better informed, and more widely circulated. Moreover, it is favored with a great advertising trade, which is of greatest importance, since at the present time the six-page newspaper which costs 0.18 centimes to publish is sold at 0.10 centimes only to the newsdealers and 0.15 centimes to the reader, therefore the gap can only be filled with the help of commercial advertising.

The public takes great interest only in the spreading of these papers which show a decidedly avowed policy, whether democratic, Catholic or Royalist. For instance, in Paris, Royalist young men spend all Sunday morning selling the *Action Française*, before the doors of churches, while young Catholic democrats, on their side, cry and sell *La Democratie*, a weekly paper edited by Deputy Sangnier. *La Croix* has a number of propaganda committees. Its propaganda workers are chiefly women. Newspapers of less decided opinions, such as *L'Echo de Paris*, *Le Gaulois*, etc., have no propaganda organization. Their sale is conducted on a purely commercial basis.

The greatest Catholic newspaper of France is, without doubt, *La Croix*, founded over thirty years ago by Rev. Father Vincent de Paul Bailly, and which, during the first phase of its history, that closed in 1914 with the outbreak of the war, was the object of the most furious assaults and persecutions, having ofttimes to endure the criticisms of Catholics themselves on account of its seeming vehemence in dealing with its many bitter enemies.

But despite the many apparently insurmountable difficulties placed in its way *La Croix* has devoted itself to the protection of Catholic interests and the encouragement of every Catholic cause, and not only has it achieved development and a wide circulation, but its example has encouraged the foundation of other Catholic papers, so that now France has a powerful Catholic press which did not exist forty years ago, but, which, had it existed, would in all probability have prevented the failure of the Catholic cause witnessed at that time.

To day the situation has changed. Relative harmony prevails between the official and the religious circles, and the Catholic press of France, no longer obliged to fight for its very existence, is able and ready to deal with the many serious problems confronting the world. The great Congress of the Catholic Press, held in Paris last October, made a serious study of the rôle of the Church and the Catholic Press in the modern materialistic world. In the words of Pierre L'Ermite, the veteran collaborator of *La Croix:* "We are living in a time when the lies of the press are more cleverly fabricated than ever before. *La Croix* watches for them, exposes them and points out the truth. Catholics need *immediate* direction and guidance, and *rapid* answers

must be given to questions demanding *rapid* solution. Never has the diffusion of *La Croix* been of greater importance to the Catholics who have before them a world to rebuild".

Canon Collin, speaking at the same Press Congress said: "I should like to see a great moral syndicate of the Catholic press which would unite all influences and authority and represent a combination of forces, activities and intellects under the patronage and with the authority and blessing of the Church". This "moral syndicate of the Catholic press" is a great dream but it has never been fully realized. Meanwhile, *La Croix* has been the most active and effective agent in protecting the interests and promoting the union of French Catholics. The importance of its influence is shown in the following well-deserved tribute which it received from Senator Lamarzelle:

"If *La Croix* had never been founded, imagine what our situation would be at the present time. Where would be the general organization of the Catholic press? For this organization exists, it is active throughout the whole of France, thanks to *La Croix*".

As regards the pecuniary help extended to Catholic newspapers in general there exists a fund called "Le Franc de la Presse", of which the main office is in Paris. It was started in 1919 with the approval of a number of Cardinals. Through the medium of diocesan committees and parish groups, amounts are collected which shall not be less than one franc. The sums of money thus collected afford necessary help to needy Catholic papers. The Central Committe, which is presided over by a Canon sub-director of the *Oeuvres* of the Diocese of Paris, includes diocesan directors, journalists, financiers and jurisconsults.

In the Provinces, a number of local weekly papers are supported—and oftentimes fully—by such people as senators, landowners, or business men.

In Paris, certain newspapers start public drives in their columns, to beg their readers' assistance. A certain Royalist newspaper has, in this way, collected two million francs. Upon the whole, millions and millions of francs have been spent, in France, by Catholics to found and support newspapers, more particularly at election times. But these various enterprises were either local or scattered, no great combined effort ever having been attempted.

Fifteen years ago, millions were squandered in an effort to promote a French association of world telegraphic news, which might have freed the Catholic newspapers from the obligation of resorting to the services of the Havas Agency News. The scheme had to be given up in the face of the tremendous expenditure involved.

As French Catholics individually adhere to different parties, either conservative, plebiscitarian, liberal-republican, progressist, democratic, etc., and as each of the Catholic newspapers has its decided preferences for this or that party, the Bishops find it better not to bring their influence to bear in favor of such and such a paper. They merely advise their diocesans to abstain from reading anti-Catholic papers and to patronize Catholic newspapers rather than the neutral.

For the same reason, the Bishops are careful not to make use of their personal authority in what concerns newspapers. Therefore, the Catholic press (excepting the *Semaine Religieuse* of each diocese) is neither controlled nor directed by the Bishops. But nevertheless it shows a permanent submission to them, forestalls their desires and never writes anything that might bring censure from them.

Of a common record, religious authority has been placed far above all divergent political opinions. It is too highly respected by Catholic newspaper men—as well as their Catholic readers—to find it necessary ever to make its power felt.

Moreover, whether they be royalists or republicans, conservatives, or democrats, all Catholic newspapermen belong to the "Corporation of Christian Journalists" who in all their meetings, are unanimous in affirming their absolute obedience to the dictates of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Catholic journalism in France is now greatly aided in its development by an organized group of writers and journalists known as the "Corporation of Christian Publicists," with more than four hundred members.

M. René Bazin, a member of the French Academy, is president of the organization. Four other members of the Academy—Pierre de la Gorce, Henry Bordeaux, Monsignor Baudrillart and Paul Bourget, the last named famous as a novelist—are also enrolled in the corporation. Notable in its membership also are M. Duval-Arnold, chairman of the committee on Social Reform in the Chamber of Deputies, and others.

In the Corporation are conservatives, royalists and republicans, but in the religious field these men unite without reserve in submission to Pontifical instructions and so successful has been its work and so substantial its contributions to the *esprit* of French Catholic life that plans are now being pushed to bring about closer relations with other countries.

The Corporation has two sections, "The Syndicate of Writers" and "The Syndicate of Journalists". For membership in the Syndicate of Writers it is sufficient to be a Catholic, a Frenchman and a writer, and to be recommended by two sponsors on the committee. Enrolment in the Syndicate of Journalists is much more restricted. The candidate must "live on his salary as an editor" and have been for more than three years on the regular staff of a newspaper.

For these professional journalists the Corporation has gained material advantages. It represents them in dealing with the public authorities and with Press Syndicates, and presents their collective demands for wages and hours; it maintains an agency to obtain positions for them and to provide collaborators for directors, and it arbitrates difficulties which arise between its members and newspapers. Just now it is engaged in a vigorous campaign to obtain a day of rest for the newspaper men by the suppression of the publication of Sunday papers.

The two hundred senior members of the Corporation have the right to travel at half rates over all railway lines and the professionals are assured a pension of 500 francs after the age of forty-five and after fifteen years' membership.

But more important than these material benefits are the moral advantages. The Corporation enables its members to gain a clearer vision and more comprehensive conception of literary and newspaper material that has to do with faith, morals and patriotism. At its monthly reunions there are important discussions of these to be defended, arguments to be employed, propaganda methods to be acquired and professional improvements in the service of ideas.

Hungary

Until quite recently the liberal, masonic and Jewish press was the absolute master of public opinion in Hungary. A negligible reaction against this unfortunate predominance was represented by the small paper *Alkotmany*, organ of the Catholic Popular Party, founded by Count Ferdinand Zichy. This paper has a small circulation and was read almost exclusively by the clergy.

For the last ten years the condition of the press had been going from bad to worse. The number of Jewish and masonic papers increased steadily and continued their

violent attacks on Catholicism. At the end of the war there were thirty papers published in Budapest alone, of which only two were Catholic.

Catholic journalists, at their meetings and assemblies, began to recognize the urgent necessity for a radical and energetic change in their political press. In 1917 the Catholic periodical *Magyar Kultura* directed by Father Bangam, S.J., raised a cry of alarm and emphasized the necessity of conducting a popular movement in favor of the creation of a modern Catholic press capable of entering into competition with the secular press. As a result there was founded the *Kozponsti Sajto Vallabat* (Central Press Enterprise), which undertook to raise a capital of three million crowns by shares of twenty-five crowns each. The plan won the approval of the Bishops, who subscribed large sums. An active propaganda was conducted throughout the whole country, meetings and lectures were held, hundreds of local branch offices were opened, and leaflets were distributed by the thousands. The result was surprising. At the end of three months campaign the desired capital had been oversubscribed three times.

The Jewish press naturally attacked the movement with greater fury than ever, but the Central Press Enterprise had been founded, and the capital was later raised to twelve million crowns. Just at this time, however, the liberal government of Hungary issued a decree prohibiting the foundation of any new papers, thus preventing the realization of Catholic plans.

When the Karoly revolution broke out in 1918, the masons and socialists entirely suppressed the freedom of the press. The Officers of the Central Press Enterprise were raided, the heads of the Catholic party were obliged to flee, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that the capital of the Enterprise was saved.

After the overthrow of Bolshevism in Hungary, with the help of the Government, the national army and the National Christian Party, every obstacle was finally overcome, and in September, 1919, the Enterprise published four daily papers, two weekly papers, one correspondence paper, and founded a publishing firm. The latest step has been the acquisition of the Pallasche printing firm, one of the largest and most important of Budapest. The Catholic press of Hungary now seems to be firmly established on a substantial basis, with every hope of future success.

Italy

The conditions under which the Catholic press in Italy exists are different from those which exist in the United States, or, in fact, in any other country. Italian public life for fifty years has been dominated by irreligious and anti-clerical influences, and thus the Catholic press is not so vigorous as it would be under different circumstances. Moreover, in Italy the reading of newspaper is not so general as it is in this country.

Among Italian Catholic newspapers the *Osservatore Romano* occupies first place. It is actually the organ of the Holy See and is considered "Italian" only because it is published in that language. Recently the *Osservatore* has undergone a transformation, and it now gives the news of Catholic development throughout the world, and only in a secondary way occupies itself with Italian questions. Its circulation in Italy is small; its readers are the bishops, some of the clergy; and statesmen who are interested in pronouncements of the Holy See. It has a circulation of about ten thousand copies daily. The other Catholic Italian newspapers of note are the *Corriere d'Italia*, circulating in Southern Italy, the *Avvenire d'Italia*, which

circulates in Central Italy and Veneto; the *Italia* of Milan and the *Momento*, of Turin. The influence of these papers extends throughout the Italian peninsula. They have often been in financial straits, but thanks to the generosity of the Holy Father, Benedict XV, they are now fairly well established.

In addition to these great national newspapers, Italy has a number of dailies: the *Unità Cattolica*, of Florence, the *Cittadino*, of Genoa; the *Cittadino*, of Brescia; the *Messagero Toscano*, of Pisa; the *Eco*, of Bergamo; the *Esare*, of Lucca; the *Avvenire delle Puglie*, of Bari; the *Corriere Vicentino*, of Vicenza; the *Libertà*, of Padua; the *Nuovo Trentino*, of Trento; the *Giornale* of Mantua; the *Ordine*, of Como; the *Corriere di Sardegna*, of Cagliari; the *Eco Versigliese*, of Viareggio; the *Friuli*, of Udine; the *Stampa Nuova*, of Capua; the *Libertà*, of Naples; the *Liguria del Popolo*, of Genoa; the *Nuova Giornale*, of Piacenza; the *Venezia*, of Venice.

In politics, nearly all these papers adhere to the Italian Popular Party, but none of them is the organ of the Party itself. This has only one weekly organ, the *Popolo Nuovo*.

There are many Catholic monthlies in Italy, chief of which is without doubt, the *Civiltà Cattolica*, founded by Pius IX, in 1849, to offset the rationalistic theories which were then spreading. It is under the direction of the Jesuits. Its present director if Father Enrico Rosa. The circulation of the *Civiltà Cattolica* is over 40,000. The *Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociale*, under the direction of Monsignor Talamo, has not a wide circulation, but it is very influential.

The Franciscan Father Gemelli directs a group of periodicals in Milan. A noteworthy periodical is the *Civitas*, founded by the Hon. Filippo Meda, the most eminent Catholic statesman in Italy.

The Catholic press in Italy is not directly dependent on the Hierarchy, or under its control. The *Osservatore Romano* is an exception; it is the organ of the Holy See and is directed by the Secretariate of State.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Age of the Reformation. By Preserved Smith, Ph. D. New York: Henry Holt & Co. Pp. xxi+861.

There is, perhaps, no single period of Christian history about which there is so much divergence of opinion as the sixteenth century. Nor is there one about which so many and such varied accounts have been written. The consequences of that upheaval which is somewhat loosely termed "the Reformation" have been so far-reaching and persist in such measure even to the present time that an impartial history is almost impossible, even yet. And though Dr. Smith has not attained that goal, it would be difficult to find a work which on the whole bears evidence of so much sound scholarship and such careful research as this does. One can readily credit the author's statement that it has occupied his "leisure for the last six years" (p. v.). His reason for writing this work he states as "the need for putting that movement (i.e. the Reformation) in its proper relation to the economic and intellectual revolutions of the sixteenth century." *(ibid.)*

The book is divided into fourteen chapters and covers completely every aspect not only of the Reformation as usually so called, but every phase of life in that time which the author significantly denominates "The Age of the Reformation." He begins by tracing the causes which led up to this revolution both in "The World" and "The Church." The progress of discovery, the popularizing of new inventions (printing in particular), the rise of capitalism with its complete change from "natural economy" to "money economy" (p. 4)—a change whose far reaching consequences we do not always appreciate,—and the recovery of the Classics by the Humanists, many of whom adopted a neo-Paganism, all made for revolution in human thought.

It is hardly to be expected that a secular historian without a sense of the spiritual or supernatural would be able to interpret the place of the mystics satisfactorily, but one of Dr. Smith's ability should be able to get facts straight at least. It is hard, however, to reconcile his attempted identification of the doctrines of Tauler and Luther, of whom he says "both deprecated good works and sought justification in faith only" (p. 34). One glance at Tauler's "Sermon for the First Sunday of Lent," will show the falsity of this. In speaking of "the holy quiet of the

soul in God," he says; "taken in itself is not sinful," yet "it is far otherwise if one positively seeks to have it and enjoy it to the exclusion of the good works of a Christian life," or again where his statement, "No man is holy or can be made holy without good works," effectively disposes of such an identification.[1]

In the Church "The Babylonian Captivity" and the Great Schism had so weakened the influence of the Popes that they were "in some respects a direct preparation for the greater division brought about by the Protestant secession" (p. 14). Dr. Smith does not over-state nor yet minimize the corruption which existed within the Church, and makes his strongest quotations from Catholic writers to show the need of reform, but his judgment is that "corruption of the Church (was) not a main cause of the Reformation" (p. 20). The section on "Nationalizing the Churches" shows the progress of the conflict between the temporal and the spiritual power in the various countries of Europe. As nations, in our modern sense, arose out of the old feudal society, and as the hold of the Papacy was loosened, they sought to have a Church of their own. This was due to confusion of thought for which one may easily account. One Empire and one Church had been all that was known. Now new *imperia* were arising, unthinkingly men said, "Why not each one with its own Church, self-contained and (what was more desired by the rulers) managed locally without interference from Rome?"

Chapters II to VII take up in detail the progress of the revolution in the principal countries which were at all affected by it, beginning of course with Germany, which has the dubious distinction of supplying the leader. There are few characters in his history so difficult of interpretation as that of Martin Luther, and it is only now that research is beginning to put him in his right perspective. He has been estimated all the way from devil to demi-god, yet no ready-cut description will fit him. Catholics have too often made the mistake of centering the whole Reformation around him, whereas though he "represented and dominated" (p. 62) his age, yet as Dr. Smith points out "no great historical movement is caused by the personality * * * of a single individual." *(ibid.)* But since Luther was the product

[1] Quoted from "The Sermons and Spiritual Conferences of John Tauler." Translated by Rev. Walter Elliott, C. S. P. Pp. 185-189.

of the Germany of his day, and since he embodied in a large measure its thought and its feeling, the storm centered around him. Dr. Smith sketches in brief but pregnant sentences the progression of his thought. Justification by faith only—even though not proven by Scripture, reason or otherwise, was set forth by him as a great discovery, and it seems to Dr. Smith (whose view we must feel is somewhat prejudiced) that it was so. Hence he justifies it by saying, "The Church was everywhere with her claim to rule over men's daily lives and over their souls. All progress was conditioned on breaking her claims and nothing could have done it so thoroughly as this idea of justification by faith only" (p. 66). Consequently indulgences made just as good a starting point as any other. The weary course of the revolution, with its attack on all authority; its excesses in the Anabaptist and other radical movements; Luther's duplicity and lack of moral principle; and the general slowing up of progress are accurately sketched. Significantly he tells us, "No period is less productive in modern German history than the age immediately following the triumph of the Reformation" (p. 134).

Notes on the Reformation in Scandinavia, Poland and Hungary close Chapter II.

Chapter III takes up that form of the revolt which was destined to have far more effect upon the English speaking world than the German, namely: that in Switzerland. Humanism first and nationalism after supplied the excuse and in Zwingli was found the first leader. The form of leadership was different from that in Germany, the Swiss reformation being at all times more theocratic. "Zwingli took the position of an Old Testament prophet, subordinating State to Church" (p. 156). The mixture of motive on the part of many of the "Reformers" is epigrammatically expressed in Erasmus' words "They falsely call themselves evangelical for they seek only two things: a salary and a wife" (p. 154).

But while Zwingli's theory of the Sacraments has become almost the sole Protestant belief, not he but Calvin gave form to the change in Switzerland, from thence to Scotland and so to our own land, where Calvinism became for many years almost synonymous with Protestantism, and in the revolt from its cruelty, the parent of the paganism and the indifference of our

own times. Why this is so is one of the strange things of history, for Dr. Smith finds "not one original thought in any of Calvin's works" (p. 163). Nevertheless Calvin was a lawyer, and his *Institutes* gave to Protestantism what it lacked before—a systematic treatment. Under his rule in Geneva the theocracy became complete. The Old Testament rather than the New was his standard, and if Zwingli had been a prophet he was more, for he actually "identified his own wishes and dignity with the commands and honor of God" (p. 175). And he possessed the necessary strength of character to carry out such a preposterous program. His personality more than that of anyone else, has fastened itself on Protestantism, and unlovely as he was, his influence has continued. Dr. Smith feels, however, that one's own predilections have much to do with an estimate of what this has meant. Though John Knox felt "that Geneva is 'the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles' " (p. 174), yet "the records show more cases of vice after the Reformation than before" *(ibid)* and we are obliged to feel that "a gentler, more understanding method would have accomplished more, even for his own purpose" (p. 181).

Turning from Switzerland to France we take up a country where the Reformation failed. Here as everywhere Dr. Smith speaks solely as a secular scholar, and so gives no credence to supernatural motives or methods. Hence to a Catholic there is something lacking in some of his explanations in this chapter. Tracing the political situation, he feels that it accounts for nearly everything, but the ultimate reason of the failure was that "the schism rent the French evangelicals before it seriously affected the Church" (p. 190). The Republican tendencies of the Calvinist party, in opposition to the monarchs who were feeling the rise of national consciousness, pitted them against it, and the work of the Jesuits did much to stem the tide also. The antagonism between the Catholic and the Calvinist factions created a condition where "there was no longer one government and one allegiance in France, but two, and the two were at war" (p. 208).

The dreary "Wars of Religion" which devasted the land, brought the conflict to a draw and forced Henry IV finally to acquiesce in a policy of "tolerance, not indeed as a natural right, but as a political expedient" (p. 225). Finally, he summarized

the causes of the ultimate failure of the reformation in France, giving them as (1) "the steady hostility of the government," (2) "the tardiness with which it came," and (3) "the Renaissance," which "sapped away the interest of just those intelligent classes whose support was needed to make the triumph of the Reformation complete" (pp. 230-1).

Turning to the Netherlands in Chapter V the course of Lutheran reform, the Anabaptist uprisings, and the Calvinistic revolt are traced, the last named being the form which Protestantism finally assumed here, because it "aroused republican passions and excited rebellion against the powers that be" (p. 248), and the rapidly rising merchant class was ready for such a movement. The final division of the Low Countries into two parts was along religious lines as "Calvinism had been largely drawn off to Holland and Zealand, and Catholicism remained the religion of the great majority of the population in the other provinces" (p. 270).

The course of the Reformation in England stands by itself, and is complicated by factors not in evidence elsewhere. This makes it more difficult to arrive at the truth of what happened, for whereas elsewhere interpretations of the significance of the movement are confined to Catholic and Protestant views, here there is added a third which differs in some respects from each —the Anglican. It rests on belief in two things, repudiation of Papal authority as a usurpation and the continuity of the modern Church of England with *Ecclesia Anglicana* as it was known, for example in the days of *Magna Charta*. An Anglican may scarcely believe in God, but he holds and passionately defends these two theses. Dr. Smith observes the whole matter outside of any party to it, and traces its growth. Two classes, "London tradesmen" and "the learned proletariat" (p. 285) supported the movement, but he feels that "no change would have taken place for many years had it not been for the king's divorce" (p. 286). The history of the breach with Rome is well told, and its progress under Henry VIII and Edward VI recounted. Four main parties appeared (1) "strict Anglicans, orthodox and royalist" (2) "the Pope's followers" (3) "the Lutherans" (4) "a small contingent of extremists, Zwinglians and Anabaptists" (p. 308) and the character of modern Anglicanism is due to attempts at compromise among them. The author feels that there is "no doubt

as to the choice of the people" (p. 317) at the beginning. It was with Rome, and with Mary in the Catholic reaction. It persisted even under Elizabeth when "the mass of the people still clung to the Roman Faith" (p. 325) though "the strategically situated classes" who controlled the policies of the government "were Reformed" (p. 326).

An evidence of the author's own leanings is seen in his treatment of the matter of persecution as an element in the conversion of England to Protestantism. He merely compares the number of actual executions under Mary and Elizabeth to the detriment of the former, and takes little or no account of the many other sorts of pressure which were used to turn the people from their faith. Moreover his assertion that "under Mary the executions were for heresy; under Elizabeth chiefly for treason" (p. 336) while true in form is in fact one of those dangerous half-truths, from which this work is unusually free. When "treason" is so defined that hearing or saying Mass is treasonable, the distinction falls to the ground.

The rise of Puritanism is traced and extolled, though we cannot endorse the whole of Dr. Smith's encomium. It did prove to be, as he says, "the party of the future" (p. 346) and its effect on life, religious, social and political in England and America can hardly be exaggerated.

The section on Ireland is brief, but caustic. He feels that "the government of the island was a crime" (p. 346) and says "Had England been able to apply the method of extermination, she undoubtedly would have done so, and there would then be no Irish question today." *(ibid.)* One could hardly write a worse indictment than his conclusion that "with every plea in mitigation of judgment that can be offered, it must be recognized that England's government of Ireland proved a failure. If she did not make the Irish savage, she did her best to keep them so, and then punished them for it. By exploiting Erin's resources she impoverished herself. By trying to impose Protestantism she made Ireland the very stronghold of Papacy. By striving to destroy the septs she created the nation." (p. 349).

The final chapter (VII) on the Reformation proper takes up its course in Scotland. It was not difficult to bring about the change for truly "in no country was the corruption greater" (p. 354). The fierce character of the "reform" however, was

due more to John Knox than to anyone else. "A born partisan, a man of one idea who could see no evil on his own side and no good on the other, as a good fighter and a good hater he has had few equals." (p. 357). With such a leader and aided by "that part of the people that had the energy and intelligence to see most clearly and act most strongly" (p. 363), "the Scotch revolution was as thorough, in its own small way, as that of Robespierre. Religion was changed and a new distribution of political power secured" (p 362) even though "probably three-fourths of the people were still Catholic" (p. 363) at heart. Mary's attempts to offset the tide of revolution, and Elizabeth's treatment of her are briefly touched upon, though without much sympathy for that unfortunate queen.

"The Counter-Reformation" is considered next, with a few notes on Italy as a preface. It is in dealing with the Latin lands that Dr. Smith shows how Anglo-Saxon he really is. "That Italy should toy with the Reformation without accepting it," he finds to be "entirely due to her geographical, political and cultural conditions" (p. 371). And though he notes the patent fact that "as far as the Italian mind was liberated *(sic)* in religion it was atheistic" (p. 373) he does not see how much this accounts for in Church history to this day.

The treatment of "The Papacy, 1522-1590" is characterized by a marked fairness in the presentation of the facts of the period. In treating "The Council of Trent" he noted many things for which he seems unable to account, but which a Catholic finds no stumbling-block at all. He thinks "The extraordinary thing about the Protestant conquests was their sudden end" (p. 388) and he seems non-plussed by it. His analysis of the Council does not strike us as so keen as that recently published by Dr. Kinsman, for he views it more with the unfavorable perspective of its own time than with the fairer view of what Trent still means, and how it has stood in history as we get away from the controversies which raged around it.

Regarding the Jesuits he says, "Let us neither praise nor blame them, but seek to understand them" (p. 398) and seems to try to do so. He notes that "great crises in the church have frequently produced new revivals of monasticism" (p. 397) and considers that in the evolution "its apogee was reached with the organization of the Company of Jesus" (p. 398). Due credit is

given for the good things its members accomplished, but the treatment of the foreign mission activity of the Society is marred by the utter disregard of the supernatural. Particularly is this true of the notice of the work of St. Francis Xavier. To try to account for this wonderful life and its accomplishments without God is futile, and even Dr. Smith is unable to do it. His estimate is that "though Xavier was a man of brilliant endowments and though he was passionately devoted to the cause, to neither of his good qualities did he owe the successes, whether solid or specious, with which he has been credited. In the first place, judged by the standards of modern missions, the superficiality of his work was almost inconceivable. He never mastered one of the languages of the countries which he visited. He learned by rote a few sentences * * * and repeated them to the crowds attracted to him by the sound of a bell" (pp. 408-9) and Dr. Smith further goes on to say that "what permanent success he achieved was due largely to the invocation of the aid of the civil power" (p. 409). To disregard all evidence on the well-attested fact of Xavier's miraculous gift of tongues may be only consistent with Dr. Smith's materialism, but to accuse his work of "superficiality" or to contend that the force of the civil authority made the martyrs among his converts is either to show a dense ignorance of the history of Christianity in Japan or else an utter disregard for the truth.

Better is the treatment of "The Inquisition and Index" for the author carefully notes just how far the former was ecclesiastical and how far a civil instrument—a distinction which can usually be made even in times and places where Church and State appeared—almost as different phases of the same thing. Of the Index he says, "Various writers have labored to demonstrate the blighting effect that the censorship was supposed to have on literature. But it is surprising how few examples they can bring" (p. 423), though he illogically concludes that it "was due more to the bondage of the press than to any other one cause" (p. 424), that Spain and Italy remained Catholic while Britain became Protestant.

The outstanding point in Iberian history at this period is that it was a time of great expansion and conquest. That the Reformation took no hold upon its people, Dr. Smith feels is due (1) to the severity with which heresy was visited, and (2) to

the absorption of interest in the new worlds which explorers were opening to view. Nor does he altogether lose sight of a third reason which had more to do with it perhaps than either of the others, viz: "a notable reform of the church" which "was carried through by the great Cardinal Ximenez" (p. 426). The missionary character of Spanish conquest is brought out rather unintentionally it would seem, but the facts speak for themselves. The author is obliged to state that "in no place, save in the islands, did the native races disappear as they did in the English settlements" (p. 437) but he feels it is sufficiently accounted for by saying that the Spaniards needed "a race of helots to toil for them." *(ibid.)*

A note on the rise of the Turkish power in Europe, the anomaly of whose existence as an international factor is noted, brings to an end what we may call the geographical section of the work.

The second part deals with what may be called the "economic and intellectual history" (p. 451) of the times. We see how the profound changes of the sixteenth century affected, not so much religion now, as business, and figures bulk large throughout the treatment from now on. This makes it no less interesting reading and gives the scholar invaluable references, but there is less requiring detailed comment. The means by which modern trade grew with "The Rise of the Power of Money" and its control through "The Rise of the Money Power" (Chap. XI) is graphically described, and how our modern international machinery of government grew consequent upon these is seen from the fact that "the sixteenth century saw the first establishment of permanent diplomatic agents" (p. 478).

Under the heading "Main Currents of Thought" (Chap. XII) he treats of "Biblical and Classical Scholarship" and somewhat unwittingly, perhaps, brings out clearly the confusion into which the Lutheran exegesis and all that has followed in its train has brought the whole matter. "The unbounded popularity" (p. 572) of the Bible, translated too often to suit its translators, and the fact (as Luther complained) that "each man interpreted the Holy Book according to his own brain and crazy reason" (p. 573) brought about "several effects that were either morally

indifferent or positively bad" *(ibid.)* just as the Catholic Church has always taught.

In Chapter XIII, "The Temper of the Times," he treats of "Tolerance and Intolerance"; of "Witchcraft" which he traces to a "savage survival" (p. 651) in civilized man, and to "the zeal and bibliolatry of Protestantism" (p. 655); of education, of which the Reformation does not show up as champion to the extent commonly supposed, but it is the section (§-4) on "Art" which is the masterpiece of the whole book. Starting with the statement that "the significant thing about art * * * is the ideal it expresses" (p. 674) he analyzes carefully and appreciatively the works of the principal masters of the time and gives them a sympathetic and accurate interpretation. How much both the Catholic Church and Protestantism have lost in the controversies which relegated art to the background can only be conjectured and bemoaned.

The final Chapter, "The Reformation Interpreted," is a resumé of the estimates of the leading writers of all times and of all schools from the sixteenth century to the present day, and he concludes, rightly enough with his own estimate of the age of which he has been writing. It is here that the Catholic finds him not so satisfactory for he cannot accept the conclusion that "the Reformation was but the consequence of the operation of antecedent changes in environment and habit, intellectual and economic" (p. 743) nor that "it is not dogma, so much as rite and custom that is fundamental" (p. 746). We feel that Dr. Kinsman's estimate of Protestantism as a distinct retrogression and arrest of development is more accurate than that of Dr. Smith who concludes his volume with the statement that "with all its limitations it was fundamentally a step forward" (p. 750).

Notwithstanding its limitations—limitations which it is almost impossible that the work of a single individual should avoid, Dr. Smith's contribution to available historical material is very great. It is on the whole careful, scholarly and thought-provoking. A Bibliography occupying 66 pages shows the wide range of his research and an Index of 42 shows the care with which it has been compiled.

FLOYD KEELER, A.M., S.T.B.

Catholic Problems in Western Canada. By Rev. George Thomas Daly, C. SS. R., with a preface by Most Rev. O. E. Mathieu, Archbishop of Regina. Toronto: The Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd., Pp. 252.

The Church in any new land is confronted with a set of problems all its own, in addition to those which are common to the extension of Christianity in all times and in all places. Western Canada is one of the newest outposts and has problems of a pressing nature. To the solution of these problems Father Daly has applied himself, both through personal service in the West and by study. In this volume he has given us his keen analysis of the difficulties and his proposals for their solution.

The problems which confront the Church in Western Canada he finds fall under three heads: Religious, Educational, and Social which he has made the divisions of his treatment.

Under "Religious Problems" he outlines in words of poetic beauty "The Call of the West" and sends forth a Macedonian cry for assistance. The burden of his appeal is for united action, and he well remarks, "Two conditions make united action possible—*uniform plan* and *authoritative leadership*" (p. 41). Nor does he leave us there. He outlines in no indefinite manner what he means by these things. He finds that the problems of any newly-settled country, isolation, the struggle for physical existence, the presence of agencies hostile to the faith, are augmented in Western Canada by the further problem of variation in language, tradition and even of rite among the settlers. The Ruthenians who have gone into some parts of the West in great numbers are very tenacious of their ancient customs and cannot well be ministered to by Latin priests. His call for young English-speaking priests to embrace the Ruthenian rite and go out as missionaries among these people, is a challenge to a missionary vocation excelled by none.

Protestantism is very active in the Prairie Provinces and is concentrating its efforts on upsetting the faith of the Ruthenian settlers. Father Daly rightly avers that "the most elementary principles of Christianity, of a supernatural religion, have lost their grasp on the mind of the average Protestant Westerner" (p. 45) and these systems are substituting for any idea of revealed religion mere social service philanthropy. This is for the time creating a bond of union among them and is giving a temporary success to their efforts. Catholic missionary work is

needed to offset the baneful effects of this propaganda. For this he pleads most eloquently.

Under the head of "Educational Problems" he enters a field where the difference between Canada and the United States is more pronounced than it is in purely religious or missionary matters. American Catholics have been so long accustomed to being compelled "to buy twice over a right of conscience" (p. 163) in the maintenance of their own schools, that they think of nothing else as possible, yet Father Daly's plea for the right, not the favor, of separate schools, aided by the money of Catholic taxpayers is eminently just. He rightly maintains that "a neutral school is a practical impossibility" (p. 177) and quotes many American authorities to show that our own attempt at such is not the huge success that its advocates would have us believe.

Remarking that "there is a decided distinction between higher education for Catholics and higher Catholic education" (p. 210) he argues the necessity of the foundation of a Catholic University for Western Canada, summarizing his arguments as follows:

"1. The interests of Church and country, particularly in the West, demand Catholic leadership;

2. No genuine leadership without University training;

3. For Catholics higher education means higher Catholic education."

Is this ideal to be "Dream or Reality"? is his question. The future position of the Catholic Church in Western Canada depends upon the answer.

In dealing with "Social Problems" the anti-Catholic animus of the specious plea for "Canadianization" is brought to the surface and the true Catholic ideal of patriotism is shown in sharp contrast. The function of the Catholic press in bringing this about is emphasized strongly, as well as its opportunity to create a public opinion favorable to the Church. We do not remember to have seen a better summary of the social conditions which need attention than that here given.

"In our cities, the housing problem, which involves to a great extent, the moral life of the masses, is acute; the white slave traffic has established its haunts and commercialized vice; the moving picture show has become everywhere the most popular educational factor; at its school the young generation, eyes

riveted on the flickering screen, is drinking in the alluring lessons of free love, divorce and every anti-Christian doctrine; our ports will soon see a new tide of immigration invade our shores; the non-Catholic denominations are crumbling away under the very weight of their destructive and disintegrating principle of private judgment; we are surrounded by pagans to whom the supernatural religion of Christianity is but a name or a memory; from our great West comes the urgent cry for help, for men and money" (p. 323). To which Father Daly flings out the cry, "And what are we doing? Here and there a spasmodic effort, a generous outburst of zeal—the work of some society, parish or diocese. While, what we need now is the combined efforts of all the Catholics." *(ibid.)* He believes that a Catholic Congress will be the best remedy, and sets forth a comprehensive and well-ordered plan for one. His concluding words summarize his contentions.

"The Church of the West is in our hands—its future will be what we shall make it—that future, what shall it be?—the Divine Master, His Church, and Catholic posterity, await our answer" (p. 342).

The adversary is active but we can not only oppose him but learn from him. *Fas est ab hoste doceri* might almost be called the motto of this book, so often does Father Daly repeat it and act upon it. He frequently cites the example of the American Church in its recent attempts at better organization of its activities. All told this is a most notable work, for it not only goes to the bottom of the troubles and problems of the Western Canada but it gives concrete plans for remedying them. It should be read by every Canadian Catholic, while its perusal by us in the United States will teach us much that will be most useful in our own work which is so similar.

May God hasten the day when the Catholic religion shall come into its own throughout the North American continent. If Canada lives up to the ideal here set forth, she will have done her share in bringing this condition into being.

FLOYD KEELER, A.M., S.T.B.

The Brides of Christ. By Mother Mary Potter. Chicago: Matre & Co., 1920. Pp. vii+109.

This little volume is a sequel to "Spiritual Maternity" and is one of several books which comprise Our Lady's Little Library

series. "All of us who know the full significance of the word mother," we are told in the foreword, "will deeply appreciate the gentle admonitions, the deep and tender solicitude for souls, breathing through the pages of this little volume." These are our sentiments, too, after having carefully perused the contents of the book. The Venerable Mother Mary Potter converses with her religious self in her own sweet way on The Spouse of Jesus in the Blessed Sacrament, The Spouse of Jesus Crucified, and The Spouse of Jesus Glorified. Some of the more interesting topics discussed are The Power of Faith, Trust in God, Penance and Mortification.

This is a book which, not only religious, but even devout lay persons might read with great spiritual profit.

A Glory of Maryland. By M. S. Pine. Philadelphia: Salesian Press, 1917. Pp. 88.

Published on the centenary of the death of Archbishop Neale, this work is a "tribute of love and gratitude" on the part of the Visitation Order in this country to their founder. The authoress touches upon many incidents of the time in so far as they throw light on the life of Archbishop Neale, the second archbishop of Baltimore. There are many historical side-lights which make the poem rich in suggestion. Adequate notes in the back of the book enable even the new-comer into this field of history to follow the narrative intelligently.

The poetic mold into which the events are cast, its exalted tone, and general make-up, make it a becoming centenary volume. Since the motif is Archbishop Neale's relations with the Visitation Order, its foundation and infancy, the poem will have a strong personal appeal for friends of the Order. The book should afford pleasure to anyone interested in American Church History.

R.

Le Voyage de Monsieur Perrichon, par Labiche et Martin. Edited by Victor E. Francois. Allyn and Bacon, 1919. Pp. vi.+190.

This is a very good edition of Eugene Labiche's masterpiece, and will prove a valuable aid to both teacher and student in the French departments of our high schools and colleges. The text

of the play is well illustrated, and the notes that accompany it are excellent. In addition to the play itself we find a number of exercises based on the text of the play that are particularly well graded. Following is an appendix of regular terminations and irregular verbs, and finally, a very complete vocabulary. This is a text-book we readily recommend.

R.

Wisconsin in the World War. By R. B. Pixley. The Milwaukee War History Company, 1919. Pp. 320.

The struggle of 1914-1918 is still too recent to afford a safe field for the historian. It will be years before the feelings aroused will have subsided in favor of historic truth. Years, too, must elapse before the tactical and statistical records of the powers engaged in this greatest of wars will be fully available.

To the historian of today, then, remains either to propose his theories anent the conflict with the realization that time will sift the matter to the elemental truths, or to compile the source-books of scattered facts whence the Livy or Creasy of the future will draw the data for the ultimate story of world's debate.

This latter is the task to which R. B. Pixley has set himself in "Wisconsin in the World War": "An account of the activities of Wisconsin citizens," compiled chiefly from "the files of the press of Wisconsin, which told an interesting and accurate story, day by day, of the war work at home until victory was won."

Such a work would, in the ordinary course, be "caviare to the general," were it not for the peculiar interest Wisconsin had attracted for the last few years immediately preceding the nation's entry into the struggle. Settled largely by German immigrants—with a metropolis more strongly socialistic than any city in the country,—and represented, in part, by the most outspoken and radical Progressive in the Senate, Wisconsin might well have been suspected of disloyalty by the nation at large. Nor could this suspicion have been allayed by the little known fact that "when America entered the war Wisconsin boasted of a National Guard which ranked with that of New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania as the best in the nation." Probably in the

War Department alone was the stand which Wisconsin was to take on war with Germany, known and appreciated.

Stolid as her immigrant sires, when that famous 7th of April dawned, Wisconsin bent her back to the tasks which war would necessarily entail with a grim determination that wasted no time with cheap publicity. Possibly she knew that the eyes of the nation were on her, and that she would be judged by her performance.

That she succeeded this volume plainly shows.

Massachusetts came to study and adopt the Wisconsin plan of dealing with her agricultural problems.

Wisconsin led the states of the Seventh Federal Reserve District—Illinois (exclusive of Chicago), Michigan, Indiana and Iowa,—in over-subscribing $183,738,300 to the first three Liberty loans by a percentage of 144.

No state in the Union carried out its draft registration with less trouble. Governor Phillip was the first to recommend the use not only of the voting precincts but also of the whole election machinery of the state in handling the problem. This suggestion the Government was glad to sanction. So thoroughly was the work done in Wisconsin that the state's returns as to the number of registrants were the first to reach Washington. Subsequent drafts were so efficiently carried out that General Crowder put himself on record as saying, "I am coming to expect the impossible of Wisconsin."

Possibly the biggest thing Wisconsin did in war preparations came when the War Department faced the gigantic task of furnishing the rapidly growing army with supplies. The State came to the Government's assistance and at an expense of $800,000 so thoroughly equipped its National Guard that "until the 32nd Division went to France not a single item of equipment was issued to or needed by Wisconsin troops."

The author has evidently gone to considerable trouble to gather the mass of material he presents. Some may take exception to the fact that the only military bodies mentioned are the National Guard and the State Reserves. He has evidently left the story of the drafted men to be told by others, and contented himself almost wholly with the work of the civilian part of the population. It may be pointed out that while the work of

the State Schools and the social organizations, Y. M. C. A., K. of C., etc., is given due prominence, that, equally effective, of the private schools and the different churches is passed over rather cursorily. We note, too, an unhistorical statement that the ancestors of "Wisconsin's early settlers embarked on the Mayflower." It was the French-Canadian to whom the credit of the earliest settlements must go.

In preparing this volume Mr. Pixley has achieved a double distinction. He has given future historians ample material for the tale of Wisconsin's share in the nation's enterprise and he has forever exonerated a much maligned commonwealth.

ANSELM KEEFE, O. PRAEM.

The Irish Catholic Genesis of Lowell. By George F. O'Dwyer of the American-Irish Historical Society. Lowell: 1920. Pp. 80.

This brochure describes the coming of the Irish to Lowell as a band of canal laborers under their padrone, Hugh Commiskey, their gradual increase in numbers and material respectability, the native opposition to the strange new-comer of Catholic faith, and life in the Irish "acre" of town. There is narrated the building of St. Patrick's church in 1831 by the actual labor of the congregation, the assistance of stable Protestant citizens, and the attempted destruction of the building by a mob, whom the "Lowell Mercury" (edited by Rev. Eliphalet Case) considered "idlers, who wandered here professedly in search of employ." Parochial schools at first favored and aided by the town school committee soon followed. As early as 1835 there were 469 pupils enrolled, and in 1844, 638 children. According to Bishop Louis Walsh, State fear of Catholic schools was not marked until 1851. St. Peter's and St. Mary's churches were built in 1842 and 1847. An Irish Benevolent Association was incorporated in 1836 which along with the commands of Bishop Fenwick broke down localism and aided in ending "county brawls." A much needed Temperance Society accomplished sufficient wonders to merit the commendation of Father Mathew when he visited Lowell in 1849.

An appendix contains a list of original Irish settlers, priests, tradesmen, mechanics and laborers, with a few biographical notes. Mr. O'Dwyer would have done well to have continued his account up to the Civil War and then by way of conclusion drawn

the contrast between the much despised, impoverished Irish of the foreign "lot" in 1830, and their highly prosperous descendants of the present time.

R.J. P.

A Son of the Hidalgos. By Ricardo León, translated by Catalina Paez. Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Page & Co. Pp. xvi+296.

Some classics of old Spain have become so familiar to Americans that they form part of our own literature, but modern Spanish fiction is almost unknown. This is partly due to the change which has come over Spain in the generation just now passing. Spain entered a new era in her history after the war of '98; a period characterized by pessimism on the one hand, and frantic seeking of things modern on the other. Many Spaniards purposely tried to forget their past and its splendid heritage and to start as though nothing before counted for aught. The foolishness of this tendency, as well as the futility of attempting to live entirely in the past, is the theme of this work. The author has pictured in the soul of his hero this national struggle and makes us understand what it has meant to Spain.

The work is not merely a piece of fiction—it is an allegory, revealing the souls of people; its publication brought fame overnight to its writer. Mrs. McManus has translated it in a way possible only by one to whom both languages are natural, and who possesses independent literary ability.

The story is divided into five episodes, called "Journeys," each dealing with a stage in the progress of the hero, and so of the Spanish people. There is, of course, a love story running through it, but it is no ordinary love story. But one must read the book to appreciate its many charms, and to understand the service Mrs. McManus has rendered in giving it to us in English form.

The Dominican Lay Brother. By Very Rev. V. F. O'Daniel, O. P., S. T. M. New York: The Bureau of the Holy Name. Pp. 174.

Father O'Daniel's purpose in writing this little book is to answer the question he asks in his concluding chapter, "Why

do men become lay brothers in this age?" (p. 164). The question, he says, "is born of a worldly spirit" and he gives the only Catholic answer.

After sketching very briefly something of Dominican history, he outlines the purpose of lay brothers in general and in that order in particular of which he is treating. The consecration of toil which is the chief end of this vocation, he shows to be apostolic in character, and because there are certain pieces of manual labour which must be performed in every household, he brings out forcibly the really immense contribution of the lay-brother, who by doing them leaves the priests of the Order freer to carry on their work of preaching and study. In these days when labour is insisting upon its rights and its dignity, the Dominican lay-brother is able to teach it much in both directions.

Although the majority of their subjects have been comparatively unlearned, some have been men of high scholastic attainment, who sought this position through genuine humility and a shrinking from the responsibilities of the priesthood. Above all things (and what is more essential) the brothers have been for the most part, men of deep piety and great holiness. Sketches of those who have been accorded the honours of the altar by the Church are given, and a long catalogue of martyrs from their ranks forms a valuable part of the book. There are also chapters dealing with the lives of many lay-brothers in the United States and on the novitiate and the routine of their daily life.

One learns here much of these lives "hid with Christ in God." Through their art, their architecture, their manual toil, the brothers have been as much preachers of the Gospel as those who have proclaimed it by word of mouth. Indeed, some of the exquisite Churches and stained glass they have made continues to set forth Christ crucified ages after the tongues of the eloquent preachers of the Order have gone to dust.

Father O'Daniel has ventured into a virgin field in history and we can but hope that he, or some other, will pursue the matter further.

FLOYD KEELER.

Some Problems of the Peace Conference. By Charles Homer Haskins and Robert Howard Lord: Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. Pp. viii+310.

That gathering of representatives from the many nations which were either actively or passively engaged in the World War, and which assembled in Paris, January 18, 1919, has been the subject of more comment and more criticism than any other body of modern times. Many who had a part in it, and more who had none, have undertaken to write their impressions of its deliberations. Some of these have real historical value, others have been composed with so evident a bias that they can be classed only with "promotion" literature. "Inside histories" by those who were never inside, and confidential disclosures by those in whom no one ever placed any confidence have been plentiful. This volume is almost the only one written by men who had a large share in the deliberations of the Conference and who were at the same time possessed of the minds of trained historians. Professor Haskins was attached to the American delegation as Chief of the Division of Western Europe, and was the American member of the special committee of three which drafted the treaty clauses on Alsace-Lorraine and the Saar Valley. Professor Lord served as American adviser on Poland and related problems, both at Paris and in Poland itself. The reputation of both in the historical world is too well known to need repetition here. Professor Lord's recent conversion to the Catholic Church gives him an added personal interest for Catholics.

In the first chapter Professor Haskins takes up the "Tasks and Methods of the Conference" and shows that this body, far from being "a long drawn-out farce," as the *Wall Street Journal* in its crass historical ignorance and grossly materialistic viewpoint, called it, "was an expeditious body" (p. 3) and accomplished much, despite the fact that "no peace congress had ever confronted so colossal a task" (p. 6). The disappointment which many have felt and expressed has been occasioned, Professor Haskins feels, by the fact that "beautiful, extravagant, heart-breaking hopes were centered" on it and on "the leader of the American delegation and his programme," which "hopes were in large measure inevitably doomed to disappointment" (p. 7). Moreover, many have

forgotten "that the function of the Paris Conference was not to do abstract justice in every corner of the earth, but to make peace with Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey" (p. 14). He gives many cogent reasons why it was practically impossible to divorce the question of the League of Nations from the rest of the treaty, and as the detailed treatment of the different problems proceeds, these appear the more evident. It makes one heart-sick and almost despondent to realize how nearly the monumental work of this Conference has been overthrown because of "the failure of America to ratify the treaties and to take part in carrying out their provisions," especially when one realizes that the failure was a piece of deliberate political trickery, undertaken for the sole purpose of discrediting the administration which had conducted the War successfully, and which was about to close with a still greater achievement to its credit.

Chapters II, III, and IV, dealing respectively with "Belgium and Denmark," "Alsace-Lorraine" and "The Rhine and the Saar" are the work of Professor Haskins; the remainder of the book was written by Professor Lord.

The contrast between neutral Denmark, which "saw all her desires gratified in Schleswig" (p. 48) without having done anything in the War to gain them, and bleeding Belgium, whose heroic resistance to uphold an abstract right, but whose treatment made her "dissatisfied with her whole treatment at the Conference" (p. 49), is strongly brought out, yet one is forced to the conclusion that nothing better could be done and that "the destruction of German militarism and the protection of small states against the imperial ambitions of Germany" (p. 71) have been accomplished thereby. Yet how it is to be made permanent does not appear in the present state of things for we must agree that "for the future Belgium's security lies in a strong League of Nations and in what such a League stands for" (ibid).

More even than the problem of Belgium's rights—claims which sprang up with the War—the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France was the first thought which entered the minds of nearly all pro-Allies from the moment the first gun was fired. The settlement of this thousand-year-old problem —the adjustment of the relation of these border provinces

to their neighbours—was already determined upon in the event of an Allied victory. "The Peace Conference had only to determine certain necessary details." (p. 75.) These were, however, not altogether easy. Language, religion, political status, economic advantage, all entered in, but the final determination was based upon righting the wrong of '71 and upon the necessities, military and economic, which the establishment of the various new frontiers brought forth. Both parties concerned must learn to live in that state of comity which will make for international betterment, for "after all the nub of the situation is that France needs coal and Germany needs iron, and sooner or later it will be necessary to exchange one for the other" (p. 113).

In the question of "The Rhine and the Saar" there is not so much sentiment, and the Conference gave due attention to the views of both sides. "To German geographers and historians the Rhine is a German river, by nature and history, its valley forming a physiographic unity, itself the great highway of Germany" (p. 117). On the other hand "there have not been lacking in France certain historians and geographers who have maintained that the Rhine was the natural frontier of France, "as it had been of Roman Gaul" (p. 118). Which is right? Or is either? Professor Haskins thinks that "to one who approaches the matter without nationalistic prepossessions the fate of the Rhine valley seems to have been determined, not by any geographic necessity, but by the vicissitudes of history" (pp. 118-19). Taking into consideration the questions of the free navigation of the Rhine, and the use of its water-power, the provisions of the Conference were adopted with the feeling that "the demilitarization of the Left Bank was an elementary demand of national, and international, security" (p. 130).

The giving of the Saar basin with its mines to France he regards as a matter of "elementary justice" (p. 143), even though, so far as the inhabitants are concerned, "if they had been consulted, they would doubtless have voted to remain with Germany" (p. 140). The treaty provided for "the government of the Saar basin by a commission of the League of Nations," which is regarded as a "very interesting experiment in international administration" (p. 149) and it seems to Dr.

Haskins that "by its success or failure in such matters the League will be in large measure judged by Western Europe" (ibid).

With the treatment of Poland, Professor Lord assumes the responsibility for this work, and while the style differs from that of Professor Haskins, the calm, dispassionate historical expert shows forth just the same. He takes up the problem presented by Poland and shows how really difficult it was. "Through President Wilson's efforts, the principle of the restoration of a united and independent Poland was definitively and unequivocally inscribed among the war aims of the Allies" (p. 156), but then the question arose, "What was Poland?" Its boundaries were very inexact; its people, its language, its influence, and its history did not coincide with such frontiers as could be determined, and if peace and justice were to be secured these must all be taken into account. While trying "to be scrupulously fair to the Germans" (p. 174) so many collisions of interests occurred that Professor Lord feels "of all parts of the Versailles Peace Treaty, there is perhaps none which it required greater moral courage to make or which it may be more difficult to uphold than the Polish-German settlement" (p. 172). The prominence into which Upper Silesia has been thrust within the past few months shows that not all the difficulties were satisfactorily worked out even so.

Another problem connected with Poland is that of the Ruthenians. This is given an adequate treatment, and is valuable because that same race is creating no small Catholic problem in the United States and Canada.

Austria, which came out of the War with about the most unhappy lot of any belligerent, Professor Lord feels brought this condition upon herself, for the old Hapsburg monarchy, which was based upon the principle of *divide et impera*, fell to pieces of its own weight, once the plotters at Vienna were rendered powerless, and "the main problem before the Conference therefore was, while making peace . . . . to effect a definite division of the Hapsburg inheritance that would be just, practical and conducive to the peace and security of Europe" (p. 210). To form new states so as to treat with justice German Austrians, Czechs, Slovaks, Magyars, and all

the other multitude of races embraced in Austria's former dominions was a formidable task. No wonder the solution was not altogether satisfactory. Here again all faith was pinned to later adjustments through the League of Nations. The Conference's veto of the proposed union of German-Austria with Germany, he feels was an error, though confessedly done, not to make Austria suffer, but because "it is only after she (Germany) has successfully passed a period of probation and has shown that she has fundamentally changed her methods and her point of view, that the rest of the world can accord her such aggrandizement" (p. 227).

The settlement of the questions concerning "Hungary and the Adriatic" was planned in such a way as to foster racial unity and to put an end to "the most odious system of racial oppression known to modern Europe" (p. 235), and the same broad outline was in view in the attempts of the Conference to settle the Balkan question. Recent events show that these efforts were not altogether successful, but that is not so much the fault of those who gave their thought to the matter, as to the present inchoate and impotent state of the League.

Recognizing that "the treaty of Versailles . . . is by no means a perfect instrument" but declaring that "it represents an honest effort to secure a just and durable settlement" (p. 31) of the problems growing out of the War, the facts as set forth in this volume increase the reader's disgust with that brand of "peanut politics" which made the whole instrument a campaign document, and at that so-called statesmanship which so prejudiced our people about it for partisan ends. Had this volume been written for popular use, it might have had a large effect on the campaign of 1920. At any rate it is a vindication of the part the representatives of the United States played at Paris, an *apologia pro operibus suis* and a most valuable bit of real history.

FLOYD KEELER, A.M., S.T.B.

Education and Social Movements, 1700-1850. By A. E. Dobbs. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1919. Pp. 257.

The main social movements which affected education in England during the Eighteenth and the first half of the Nine-

teenth centuries offer the topics treated in this scholarly work. A better idea of the method of treatment might be given were the title inverted and made to read Social Movements and Education, for the social rather than the educational interest predominates. In a broad sense the work is, however, a review of English popular education during the period.

In Part I, devoted to the Eighteenth century, the treatment includes the Social Environment on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution, Schools and Literature, and the Era of Revolutions. Part II, covering the first half of the Nineteenth century, treats of Elementary Education, the Mechanics Institutes and Higher Education, Libraries and Literature, Education by Collision, and the Social Outlook.

As noted above, the social interest dominates throughout and education is only referred to as it is related to the social institution or movement under study. The educational interest is furthermore of the broadest kind; it includes all those cultural influences which affected, or were affected by, the masses of the people. For this reason the work is of real value as an historical study for either the students of sociology or education. It is very well written and has abundant notes and references.

PATRICK J. MCCORMICK.

English Political Parties and Leaders in the Reign of Queen Anne, 1702-1710. By William T. Morgan. New Haven, 1920: Yale University Press. Pp. ix+416.

This brilliant study of English party life appeared first as a Yale doctoral dissertation. After some revision, it was awarded the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize by the American Historical Association, and thereupon published by Yale University as one of its splendid series of historical studies. Dr. Morgan has done an authoritative, critical work in a period of English history little developed and in a phase of English party life still less developed. The general student may not be interested, but the specialist and scholar in the Eighteenth century will find his own scholarship stimulated and improved by Dr. Morgan's thorough study of Queen Anne, the early

cabinet, Whig and Tory leaders, Marlborough, Godolphin, Bishop Burnet, Rochester, George I, the relation of crown to parliament, and the law of Protestant succession. The critical bibliographical notes deserve special commendation.

R. J. P.

Leonidas Polk, Bishop and General. By William M. Polk, M.D., LL.D. New Edition. Two volumes. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. Vol. I, pp. x+385. Vol. II, pp. viii+464.

If one were to choose a single life to represent the spirit of the Old South it would be difficult to find one better than that of the subject of this sketch. Born into a family of wealth and prominence (he was a cousin of James K. Polk, President of the United States), he had all that commendable pride of race, coupled with a feeling of grave responsibility for upholding family honour, which made at once the strength and the weakness of the regime "Before the War." Leonidas Polk's grandfather, Col. Thomas Polk, was the author of the famous "Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence"—a document of which too little has been said in our histories. He fought through the Revolutionary War, as did his son, Lieut. Col. William Polk, the father of Leonidas. The last named was a rather frail youth, but determined to follow in the footsteps of his forebears, and after a term at the University of North Carolina entered West Point. It was while a cadet in this institution that his whole future career was changed.

One of the most valuable features of this study is the way it enables us to note the change in the condition of religion in the different periods it outlines. Leonidas Polk came of the best of the people, and among them a sort of vague deism was all that was admitted. At the time he entered the Military Academy the chaplain (afterwards Bishop McIlvaine of the Protestant Episcopal diocese of Ohio), wrote: "There was not one 'professor of religion' among the officers, military or civil. Several of them were friendly to the efforts of the chaplain, others were decidedly the reverse. Of the cadets not one was known to make any profession of interest in religion. Among cadets, officers, and instructors there was a great deal of

avowed infidelity." (I. p. 90.) The chaplain's position was anything but pleasant. He says: "I had been labouring for nearly a year without the slightest encouragement. Not a cadet had called to see me." (Ibid.)

It was amid such unlikely surroundings that Cadet Polk was led to make a profession of faith and there, before the whole corps, to receive Baptism in the Chapel of the Academy. This was the beginning of a new era for him and for religion at West Point. As his convictions deepened, although his religious attitude met with little sympathy at home, he further determined to leave the army and enter the ministry of the Episcopal Church. His career of preparation at the seminary, ordination, subsequent breakdown in health and travel abroad may be passed over here, though they contain many valuable historical sidelights. He finally settled down on some of his own land in Tennessee and there expected to end his days as a plantation owner, exercising his ministry for his family, the neighbours and his slaves. But such a quiet career was not to be allowed him, and at the age of 32 he was appointed "Missionary Bishop of the Southwest," a vaguely defined territory which included Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, the Indian Territory, and the Republic of Texas. Although it was an ecclesiastical wilderness, he set himself to clearing it, and when after six years he was made Bishop of Louisiana he had the satisfaction of seeing great advances.

Among the valuable features of this work is the light it throws upon the South's attitude on the slavery question. Bishop Polk's labours were constantly directed to its solution. "Believing in gradual emancipation, his mind was constantly turned to the problem as it then stood. He did not deal merely with people of his own church; anyone the owner of slaves, whether possessed of a religion, or without one, was his objective, and so while moving through this domain he ever kept his eye on this momentous question" (p. 180) and the accounts given of his care for the family life of his own negroes give the lie to the wretched calumnies that are even yet current on that subject and also serve to show how aggrieved the South felt when the North, with no knowledge of the problem, attempted to force the issue upon them.

A firm believer in the destiny of the South, he sought Christian education for its youth, and his was the vision of a great University which should provide this. His labour for the University of the South, his magnificent plans for it; the raising of a handsome endowment and the procuring of its noble domain in east Tennessee bear witness to his ability and his loftiness of soul. That the endowment should be swept away, and the dream shattered by an internecine war is one of the tragedies of history. On this domain his family took refuge when the storm seemed about to break and it was the wanton destruction of their home, occupied by helpless women and children, which finally persuaded him to feel it "to be a call of Providence" (I. p. 359) that he accept the offer of a Major-General's commission in the Confederate Army. He stipulated that he should be released from his command so soon as a competent leader could take his place. Alas, that release was only to be when he fell dead on the field of battle.

The second volume, which in this new edition has been carefully revised from the official war records, is entirely made up of accounts of his military campaigns, and forms a valuable and intimate history of that portion of the Civil War.

Those who would condemn Leonidas Polk for his decision, if they would read this work, would be impressed with his purity of motive, and with his conviction that he was doing God service in defending his home against invasion. Read sympathetically this work gives one a means of judging the South correctly, and of clearing its name, as well as that of General Polk, of much that has been said against them.

FLOYD KEELER, A.M., S.T.B.

Publications of the Nebraska State Historical Society, Vol XIX. Edited by Albert Watkins. Lincoln, Nebr., 1919. Pp. +357.

This volume contains much historical material of state importance, especially upon the Indians, Indian campaigns, early life in the commonwealth, and racial elements in the population. An article of particular value, "Bohemians in Nebraska," comes from the pen of Professor S. B. Hrbkova of the state university (pp. 140-158) In a paragraph on Bohemian religious life, Mr.

Hrbkova notes that there are forty-four Catholic churches and priests, a fine church at Brainard and several flourishing parochial schools, twenty Protestant churches, largely Methodist and Presbyterian, and five rather recently organized Liberal Thinkers' societies. In a consideration of Bohemian literary activities, there is mentioned: Reverend A. Klein of Brainard, vicar of the Lincoln diocese, a contributor to the Otto Encyclopedia; Fr. G. S. Bros of Schuyler, a frequent writer for the Catholic press, and at present working on a history of Nebraska in the Bohemian tongue, and Fr. Joseph Habenicht, formerly of Nebraska, now of Chicago, who has written a monograph on the Czechs in Nebraska.

R. J. P.

Ideals of America. Prepared for the City Club of Chicago. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pp. 324.

Like any collection of papers by different authors, the constituent parts of this book are of varying merit. Some of the essays rise to the height of a very real idealism, worthy of the very best in our country; others seem to be satisfied with mediocre attainment and a lower conception which, if it accurately represented America's ideal, would bode ill for our land. In literary merit these essays also vary greatly. Probably the best written is the paper on "Ideals in Law," by former Chief Justice Winslow of Wisconsin, and in our judgement, the least worthy one is that on "Ideals in Society" by Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons; but perhaps this is because she is dealing with a subject whose "ideals" are lower. "Society" in the sense of that nameless and purposeless thing which the author tells us is but a "group of social facts for which there is no term, for which the best descriptive device the sophisticated few have contrived is a capital letter and quotation marks," does not lend itself readily to ideals. Her slurring remarks about Catholicism, her ready classification of "Catholics or Buddists" as apparently on a par, stamp her effort as that of a shallow mind. On the other hand, Professor Coe in his "Ideals in Religion," although he is unfortunately satisfied with a nebulous "brotherhood" instead of the Catholic ideal which he sets forth in his statement that "The only ethical unity of American that Catholicism will at all con-

sider, therefore depends upon accepting the Catholic interpretation of authority in religion and morals. This great historic institution sees no hope for our moral distractions, our divided purposes, short of the extension of the Church itself until it becomes the one and only church of us all," nevertheless does describe the Catholic position with a fairness and accuracy that we hope are prophetic.

Most of the essays are without outstanding characteristics, and the world has moved so far since 1916 when the first of them was delivered, that much in them is only interesting as showing how many changes thought has undergone in this half-decade. K.

The Story of the Pilgrims for Children. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D. New York: The Macmillan Co. Pp. 142.

History told in an interesting way within the grasp of the child mind is much needed, but little which is absolutely reliable and free from bias is to be found. This volume starts out in a way which leads one to suppose that it will be such. It is well made, well illustrated, and well told, and while the author professes to be following accurately the best authorities, the uniformity with which the Pilgrims are "generous" and "good" and all others are "wicked" casts suspicion upon the whole narrative. This sort of propaganda is not history, but the impression which it makes upon a child's mind can be eradicated in after years only by a great deal of careful study. In order to appreciate the services of the Pilgrim Fathers it is not necessary to make them demigods. This fixed purpose leads the author into some rather queer situations. On p. 95 he tells us that newcomers from England, found the colony "in good spirits, anxious to work and fight," but he has led us to believe that they were so "good" that fighting was quite out of their line. Again on p. 138 he says, "Quakers came to Plymouth, but were not ill-treated," yet he admits that "Sometimes they had to stand for hours in the pillory, or sit a long time in the stocks." Such things mar what otherwise might have been a worth while contribution to American history for young folks.

FLOYD KEELER.

The Historical Development of Child-Labor Legislation in the United States. By Miriam E. Loughran. A doctoral dissertation submitted to the Catholic University of America. Washington, 1921: Privately printed. Pp. 109.

Miss Loughran, under the direction of Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan, has compiled an extremely useful compendium of legislation passed by the various states to regulate child labor. Each state is considered, and its laws codified in chronological order. Aside from a short introduction and conclusion, there is little attempt at analysis, correlation, criticism of existing legislation, or suggestion for further regulatory effort. Certain charts and graphs, which would have aided in summarizing results, were unfortunately not printed, though available in the library archives. An excellent and comprehensive bibliography is included. For students of labor and social legislation, this monograph should prove a valuable reference. R. J. P.

College of Mount Saint Vincent—A Famous Convent School. By Marion J. Brunowe. A new edition with supplementary chapter by Anna C. Browne. New York: P. J. Kennedy & Sons. Pp. ix+205.

Interest in Mother Seton and her foundations has ever been high in American Catholic circles and the possibility of her beatification at Rome in the near future adds to it at present. This volume, a chronicle of her earliest educational work, and one over which she herself presided for a long time, is therefore a timely as well as an interesting addition to the readily available material concerning the history of our American religious communities. It traces the history of Mount Saint Vincent from its first site, in what is now a part of Central Park, New York, through the dark days of Know-nothing riots and persecution to the position of physical and educational eminence which it presents at the present time.

The work of those noble Sisters of Charity who have devoted themselves to the upbuilding of this institution of higher learning is told in a familiar, easy style which would be possible only to so devoted a "daughter of the Mount" as the author, who was the first recording secretary of its alumnæ association. Her death prevented her bringing the chronicle down to date, but

as completely has the same spirit animated her collaborator that one is scarcely aware of the change of authorship in the supplementary chapters.

Twelve full-page illustrations of persons and scenes intimately associated with Mount Saint Vincent's add greatly to the appearance value of the book. It is of primary interest to those who call this institution "Alma Mater," but it is worthy of a much wider circle of readers.

The Catholic's Work in the World. By Rev. Joseph Husslein, S. J. New York: Benziger Bros. Pp. 286.

Father Husslein's zeal, ability and expert knowledge of social service problems and kindred things is too well known to need any commendation to Catholic readers, and the fact that he is the author of a book gives it standing. This volume proves no exception to the rule. It is a clear and concise statement of the place of the laity in modern Church life. A common Protestant allegation is that the Catholic Church is "priest-ridden," that there is no place for lay activity and lay initiative, but if one-tenth of the works here suggested to them were carried out in their fulness the charge would fail from sheer absurdity, and the Church would attract favorable attention in many quarters where it either is unknown or at least regarded with a critical disdain.

Father Husslein divides his subject into fifty short chapters. The earlier ones are explanations of the difficulties (or excuses) which are presented, and he shows in brief compass why they are not a legitimate reason for holding back. The subsequent chapters are devoted to outlining various things that the laity can and should do. "How do I represent the Church?" is the question he puts into the layman's mouth, and on the answer that is given to this by the laity depends the effectiveness of the lay apostolate in general.

This is a book suitable for careful perusal and meditation at any time, but it would be especially useful for reading during the time of a layman's retreat, a mission, in the season of Lent, or at any period when one is seeking to deepen his spiritual life and to widen his usefulness in the Church. It can be recommended absolutely without reservation.

History of the British Empire. By C. S. S. Higham, M. A. of the University of Manchester. Pp. vii+276, 15 maps. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1921.

While an outline of the British Empire's origin and growth would seem an impossible task in so slight a volume, Mr. Higham has written a splendid manual, astonishingly complete, crowded with facts, interesting in themselves rather than in the telling. A mere reading of the volume will not suffice, one must take copious notes to realize how replete it is with information and suggestion. The England of Henry VII, insular and rural, with only the beginnings of a navy, becomes the huge British Empire of today, unbounded in extent and wealth, controlling a full fourth of the world's inhabitants. One sees the gradual, haphazard, unconscious growth through exploration, seizure, colonization, wars, and trade extension. One notes even more the unpremeditated yet natural development of a definite policy of empire in the course of three centuries. This is apparently the intent of the author's general survey.

An introductory section dealing with the beginnings of the Empire up to 1763, describes with sufficient detail the naval extension by Henry VII and his immediate successors, the explorations of the Cabots, the exploring raids of the sea-dogs, Hawkins, Drake, and Raleigh, the foundation of the monopolistic Russian, Muscovy, Levant, and East Indian trading companies, the organization of the Royal African Company for the slave trade, and the establishment of plantations and colonies in the New World. The struggle with Holland and later with France is emphasized, with its resultant English supremacy in India as well as in North America. A distinct advantage of Mr. Higham's account is the attention given to the West Indian plantations, the Leeward and Windward Isles, Old Providence, Jamaica, and the Barbadoes, which are too frequently ignored by American students. Again there is considered the influence of the English merchants in forcing a colonial policy, and the organization of various councils and boards of trade and plantations to supervise colonial affairs.

Relative to English buccaneering on the Spanish Main, there is the interesting suggestion that "the Reformation gave a religious excuse to the growing desire for plundering the wealth of Spain." Again, among the reasons for colonization, the

author does not "forget the influence of the missionary ideas of the time, for though they produced little real missionary effort, men always felt that they had a duty to take Christianity to the natives, and this motive for colonization is repeated in the various charters of the day" (p. 11). Little in sympathy with New England Puritanism, he restated the oft-repeated truth: "Though the Puritans of Massachusetts had emigrated for religious freedom, such freedom was only meant for those who saw eye-to-eye with them in religious matters. Toleration was thought mere weakness, and the right of citizenship was soon restricted to those who were church members. Any one who disagreed with their religious ideas was quickly bundled out of the colony and went off to found new settlements of their own; the Quakers especially received most ferocious treatment, being whipped and tortured for their religious beliefs" (p. 17).

Considerable space is given to the East India Company as a trading organization—its extension of English influence in India, its great governors Robert Clive, Warren Hastings, Wellesley, Dalhousie—and finally as an imperial power governing the disrupted Mogul empire.[1] The story of British seizure of India is one of self-protection, to conserve English trade, or to aid wardnations of Hindus! The extinction of the Company as a trading monopoly and finally as a governing power came with the end of the Sepoy Rebellion, when India was incorporated in the empire, ruled by local governors, a viceroy, and a Secretary for India with a Cabinet seat.

In a short chapter, Mr. Higham recounts in a judicial tone the causes of the Revolution and the loss of the Thirteen Colonies. Colonies became unpopular, men believing with Tingot that, like fruit, they would drop off when ripe. Hence England displayed little interest in the thirty-five thousand loyalists, immigrants who were to make the nucleus of Nova Scotia and Ontario and sow seeds of hatred between Canada and the United States. Then came the Great French War (1793-1815), which resulted in an English monopoly of sea-power and an accumulation of territories and ceded islands, annexations in India, penal colonies founded in Australia, the acquisition of the Cape, interest in Egypt, possession of Tobago, Trinidad, British Honduras, and Guiana, Mauritius, Ceylon, Malay Straits settlements, Malta, and lesser strategic points. England had become an empire.

A renewed interest in colonies was destined to bring about a new colonial policy.

This new colonial policy was marked by the abolition of the slave trade and finally the compensated emancipation of slavery, the repeal of the Corn Laws, and the destruction of the last vestiges of the old mercantillist theories of colonial administration. The Canadian revolt of 1837, Lord Durham's report, the Quebec Conference of 1864, the North America Act of 1867, the provincial parliaments with responsible government, the Canadian purchase in 1869 of the governing rights of the Hudson Bay Company, the absorption of Manitoba, westward extension, railroad building, tariffs and reciprocity, and party life, are topics which depict the rise of dominion self-government and Canadian expansion. Valuable chapters outline the origin, material and constitutional growth of the self-governing dominions of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, with an interesting consideration of imperial confederation affairs in the way of colonial high tariffs with British preferential provisions, naval subsidies, frequent imperial conferences, voluntary colonial support of the mother country in the Boer and Great Wars, the dominion premiers in the war cabinet, and the dominions at Versailles and in the Court of the League of Nations. Over against confederation influences, the author is inclined to see a lessening of nationalistic strength in the dominions. Other chapters describe England in Egypt since the construction of the Suez Canal, and England's mighty possessions throughout the world in the way of protectorates, mandate territories, favored trade zones, fortresses, islands, coaling and cable stations.

An occasional error in detail is to be overlooked in such a work. However, rather more than three or four titles would be welcomed in the bibliographical note at the end of each chapter, as well as a wider selection of authors non-resident in England. Of Ireland nothing is said, Ireland since the Union being considered as a legal partner in the empire-governing British Isles, just as Scotland or England itself. It is an extremely serviceable volume for a student of English history or for the general reader who would understand English backgrounds with a desire to appreciate present policies.

R. J. P.

Noteworthy Articles in Current Periodicals

A List of Papal Bulls and Briefs in the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. H. Idris Bell (*English Historical Review*, July).

A Note on the Boy Bishop in Spain. J. P. Wickersham Crawford (*Romantic Review*, April-June).

Antichrist in Sacred Scripture and Tradition. Rev. P. McKenna, O. P. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July).

An Attracted Script. C. G. Cole-Barker (*English Historical Review*, July).

A Dominican Story-Teller. Gertrude Robinson (*Blackfriars*, July).

A Glimpse of Catholic Foreign Mission—Easter, 1921. (*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, May-June).

An Irish Ambassador at the Spanish Court. Daniel A. Binchey (*Studies*, September).

An Episode in Canon Law. G. G. Coulton (*History*, July). Contains certain decretals respecting bargaining, lending of money, etc.

Art and Scholasticism. Mary Ryan (*Blackfriars*, May).

Biblical Difficulties. The Editor (*Month*, July).

Catholics and the Bible. Rev. E. H. Calman, D. D. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July).

Canterbury and Constantinople. V. McN. (*Blackfriars*, September).

Catholic Writers in Congress. Stephen J. Brown (*Month*, July).

Cardinal Gibbons: Citizen. Allen S. Will (*North American Review*, June).

Catholic Missions in China. Marc F. Vallette (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, January).

Cardinal Manning. Mgr. W. F. Provost Brown (*Blackfriars*, May).

Chaitamya, an Indian St. Francis. Rev. J. E. Carpenter (*Hibbert Journal*, July).

Democracy and the Church. R. W. Frank (*Journal of Religion*, September).

Dante as a Philosopher. Rt. Rev. William Turner, D. D. (*Catholic World*, September).

Dante's Political Theories. J. J. Robliecki (*Ibid.*)

Dante and St. Peter Celestine. J. Foster Makepeace (*Blackfriars*, August).

Early Christianity in Ireland. II. St. Columba. Rev. S. Harvey Gem (*Churchman*, July).

Factors in Early Hebrew History. Harold M. Wiener. (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, April).

Fragments d'une Apocalypse Perdue. D. De Bruyère (*Revue Bénédictine*, July).

Is There Anything in Prayer? J. Edgar Park (*Atlantic Monthly*, October).

Influence of the Mississippi Valley on the Development of Modern France. Maurice Casenave (*Missouri Historical Review*, July).

Iceland Before and After the Reformation. Darley Dale (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*, January).

James Cardinal Gibbons. Shane Leslie (*Studies*, September).

Le Palimpseste du Missel de Bobbio. A. Wilmart (*Revue Bénédictine*, July).

Les Courants Religieux du Paganisme Finissant et le Christianisme Naissant. J. Misson, S. J. (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July).

Le Psaume 103. Albert Condamin, S.J. (*Ibid.*)

Le Chômage de la fête de St. Louis, roi de France, au Canada. Abbé, J. S. (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, July).

Les Premiers Bienfaiteurs de l'Hôpital-Général de Québec. Pierre Georges Roy (*Ibid.*)

Local Records of the Elizabethan Settlement: A Review of Returns Relating to the Sees of Canterbury, Rochester, and Chichester, in Reply to the Privy Council in 1563. V. J. B. Torr (*Dublin Review*, July-August-September).

Les Premiers Messagers de la Nouvelle, France. E. Z. Massicotte (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, July).

La Sovranità di Christo e L'Internazionale Cattolica. (*Civiltà Cattolica*, July).

Medical Ethics. Vincent McNabb, O. P. (*Blackfriars*, September).

Nathaniel Thompson and the "Popish Plot." J. B. Williams (*Month*, July).

Nouveaux Feuillets Toulousains de l'Ecclésiastique. A. Wilmart (*Revue Bénédictine*, July).

Note sur le Costume Bénédictin Primitif. D. De Bruyère (*Revue Benédictine*, January-April).

Protestantism and the Masses. James J. Coale (*Yale Review*, October).

Pope Benedict XV. in the War and After. J. Prior (*Dublin Review*, July-August-September).

Pan-Americanism and the League of Nations. Manoel de Oliveira Lima (*Hispanic American Review*, May).

Presbyterianism in New England. Frederick W. Loetscher (*Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, June).

Religious and Other Ecstasies. James Leuba (*The Journal of Religion*, July).

Religious Contrasts. Letters of a Pantheist and a Churchman (*Atlantic Monthly*, October).

Revivalism as a Phase of Frontier Life. Peter C. Mode (*The Journal of Religion*, July).

St. Peter's Patrimony in Sicily. Rev. E. F. Sutcliffe, S. J. (*Irish-Ecclesiastical Record*, July).

Some Significant Aspects of the Theology of Buddhism. Kenneth Saunders (*The Journal of Religion*, July).

Some Letters From the Dreer Collection of Manuscripts. (*Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, October).

Studies in Irish Monetary History. Dom Patrick Nolan, O. S. B. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July).

St. Dominic and Dante. The Rt. Rev. L. C. Casartelli (*Blackfriars*, August).

Superstitions Populaires. E. Z. Massicotte (*Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, August).

St. Peter's Patrimony in Sicily. Rev. E. F. Sutcliffe, S. J. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, July).

Social Ireland, 1295-1303. Rev. M. H. MacInerney, O. P. (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June).

St. Jerome: His Life and Labours for the Church of God. Cardinal Gasquet (*Dublin Review*, September).

The First Missionary in Wisconsin: Father René Ménard. Louise Kellog (*Wisconsin Magazine of History*, June).

The Religious Development of Kentucky. (*Register of Kentucky Historical Society*, May).

The American Jew: His Problems and His Psychology. Morris S. Lazaron (*The Journal of Religion*, July).

The Visible Unity of the Church. H. P. Reynolds (*Month*, September).

Thoughts on the "Anglo-Catholic" Convention. W. F. P. Stockley (*Blackfriars*, September).

The God of the Pierced Hands. (*Month*, July).

The Dating of the Early Pipe Rolls. J. H. Round, L. L. D. (*English Historical Review*, July).

The Catholic Church in Yugoslavia. E. Yurie (*Month*, July).

The Evolution of Religion. Rev. T. Slater (*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, June).

The Sutta and the Gospel: An Inquiry Into the Relationship Between the Accounts of the Supernatural Births of Budda and Christ. Rev. F. Harold Smith (*Church Quarterly Review*, July).

Time and the Vatican. Thomas F. Coakley (*America*, September 17).

The Parochial Law of Tithes: Its Scottish Origin and Adoption by Europe and England, II. Thomas Miller (*Juridical Review*, June).

Un Manuscript *De Cibis* et des Ceuvres de Lucifer. A. Wilmart (*Revue Bénédictine*, July).

Un Décret Recent du Saint Office en Matière d'iconographie religieuse. J. Maréchal (*Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, July).

Vatican Politics and Policies. L. J. S. Wood (*Atlantic Monthly*, September).

What Did the Idea of the Messiah Mean to the Early Christians? Ernest F. Scott (*The Journal of Religion*, July).

The *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for July begins its fourth volume with an introduction by Edward Osgood Brown. Joseph J. Thompson contributes the First Chicago Church Records, and an American Martyrology, which supplements Father Holweck's article under the same title in the January issue of this REVIEW. Rev. Frank L. Reynolds writes on the Ancient Order of Hibernians; Rev. John Rothensteiner continues his valuable study of the Northeastern Part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati; and Rev. Charles H. Metzger, S. J., concludes his account of Sebastien Louis Meurin, S. J.

The April and June numbers of the *New China Review* contain an exhaustive and scientific Study of Roman Catholic Missions in China, 1692-1744, by Hollis W. Hering. A full bibliography is appended.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Palestinian Problems.—Writing in the September *Blackfriars*, Father Reginald Ginns, O. P., writes from personal observations some very disturbing things about the situation in Palestine. He says:

> It is reassuring to Christians in Palestine—especially to Englishmen—to see that public opinion in England is being stirred up with regard to the affairs and fate of the Holy Land. It is high time. We are getting to be in very bad odour; or, as an English official here at Jerusalem said the other day, we are now thoroughly detested by everybody—French, Arabs, Christians, and Moslems. . . . . The majority of Jews who have come here as immigrants hail from northern Europe—poor Jews who have not so much to lose and who hope there is much to gain by coming to Palestine. The Jews of England and America do not come—except on a visit. Zionism in Palestine will not, it seems, settle our domestic problems. In fact, at present it looks very much as though our efforts to settle the Zionist question are going to result merely in the unsettling of the Arab question, as Mr. Chesterton put it in his *New Jerusalem*.
>
> The acceptance of the mandate pledges England to secure the establishment of the Jewish national home—a thing described as an experiment. Now there is no objection to the experiments—safe or dangerous—provided they are made with the property of the experimenter. Does the mandate then mean annexation? Or is the question of justice one that does not interest us? Surely it will be held by all for whom justice is a reality that Palestine belongs to the native Arab population. We know, of course, that the Jews claim it as their own since it was theirs 2,000 years ago. But one cannot distribute the world on those lines. The laws of prescription are now universally acknowledged in questions of this nature.
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> If then, there is any justice or right in the immigration laws of England and America, this enforced introduction of Jews into Palestine is a breach of justice. For if every nation claims the right of determining what strangers shall or shall not come to settle in its land, on what ground do we deny this right to the inhabitants of Palestine? Or must we await further proofs of the fact that the Jew is looked upon here as a most undesirable alien? It is a byword here that nothing but the protection of the British soldiers prevents a massacre. From this may be guessed the sentiments of the Arab mob, and one is under no illusion as to their significance after having watched those people—Christian and Moslem—under the influence of religious excitement.
>
> Some of the Arabs who seek their rights by less violent methods appeal for the formation of representative government on the basis of the pre-war population, which included about 78,000 Jews in 1912, most of these being comparatively recent settlers from Europe, against about 600,000 of other religions. Last year, it is said, 10,000 Jews entered. And now, with this proportion as a basis, Jewish has

SPECIMEN PAGE OF BACON CIPHER

Courtesy of Mr. W. M. Voynich

become one of the official languages with Arabic and English, and other things are promised to be arranged on similar lines. The Arabs are afraid, and with good reason. The idea of the Arab and Jew living side by side as co-possessors and rulers in Palestine is a chimera. Moreover it would be folly to imagine that such was the idea of the Zionists. For the Jews, this is their land, bestowed by God on their fathers, the scene of their national history, their fortunes and their triumphs, the land to which for centuries past they have turned their eyes with sorrow and yearning. For them it is the Arabs who are the intruders. Think of this, and ask yourself what must be the Zionist hopes, ideals and ambitions. But you already know that some of them have given out that Palestine is to become "as Jewish as England is English"; and some of the less cautious Jewish journals here already speak with the confidence born of the belief that this land is theirs once more: Their paper is the *Ha-ares*, "The Land." One cannot but feel sympathy with this landless and outcast people; but existing facts cannot be neglected, nor may we do evil that good may come.

At present Zionists are buying up land, backed up by rich Jews of Europe and America. Both in the traffic in land, and in their commercial activities, they have unspeakable advantages over the Arabs, who still to a great extent observe the habits and customs of their ancestors. The Jew with his money and Western experience will develop Palestine perhaps, but there are many of us who are persuaded that it does not need developing in that way. Keep your Western methods in the West where they were born. It is painful to walk along the streets of Jerusalem and see newly-painted signs of the Syndicate of this and the Anglo-Jewish Company of that. The experience of Europe and America leaves no doubt as to the goal of these things. Even the Arab looks into the future and sees visions of himself as the hewer of wood and the drawer of water for his Jewish master. At present, however, he is determined to keep this calamity in the realm of nightmares. So when one goes through the country, the question comes freely from his lips: *Antah Yahudi?* "Are You a Jew?" Soon it will be necessary to return to the régime instituted by the Mahommedan caliph long ago—all Christians wearing a large cross slung from their necks. It was a mark of scorn then among the Moslems; today, among the same people, it saves you from scorn, to say the least.

Such, then, are the reasons that appear to us to call for an attack on Zionism and on our present policy in Palestine.

La Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France.—The Société d'histoire ecclésiastique de la France—an organization of recent foundation—is not unlike our own American Catholic Historical Association which will celebrate its second birthday next December. The president of the organization is M. René de la Gorce, the distinguished historian of the Second Empire and the Second Republic; its vice-presidents are Mgr. Baudrillart

and M. Paul Fournier. Among those who are members of its Executive Council we find the names of several bishops, prelates, and erudite laymen like M. Pagnies, M. Imbard de la Tour, Georges Goyau and others who are eminent in the field of letters in France. It has an official organ—*Le Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France*, published quarterly under the able direction of Father Victor Carrière. In a subsequent issue we hope to publish an interesting and informative account of the organization.

The Dominicans at Oxford.—The building of a new Dominican Priory at Oxford on which operations began on August 15 is an event of deep historical significance and has called forth many tributes to the Sons of St. Dominic, of which the Letter of the Holy Father is emphatically the greatest. It is addressed to Father Bede Jarret, through whose exertions the project is largely due. The following is a translation of the Holy Father's letter:

To Our Beloved Son, Bede Jarrett, O.P., Provincial of the English Province.

Beloved Son, Health and Apostolic Benediction.

We are rejoiced to hear that you are now on the point of beginning the building of the new monastery at Oxford, a project that you have long had in your mind, from a desire to perpetuate the memory of the past, and in the hope of fruitful results therefrom in the future. Regarding, as We do, the English people with peculiar affection and longing for their return to the unity of the Faith, We feel that the Order of St. Dominic is especially adapted to this work of reconciliation, by the example of strict religious discipline and zeal for the glory of God. We have good reason therefore for hoping that your undertaking will be widely useful not only by representing religious life in its perfection—through which the sons of St. Dominic are the good odour of Christ unto God—but by fruitful and industrious labour for others in the cultivation and communication of the various sciences, human and divine. With this object you propose to attach to your monastery schools in which in the first place philosophy and theology in accordance with the doctrine of St. Thomas—as the traditions of your Order enjoin—shall be taught both to inmates and externs, and further, as opportunity offers, lectures be given on various departments of knowledge, until from humble beginnings a flourishing University arise.

You well know what the times require and what the Church desires, especially in these days, from her religious Orders, and therefore We have confidence that the work you are promoting of restoring as it were to life and former beauty your venerable home of piety and learning at Oxford, long since lamentably destroyed by violence, will prove greatly to the advantage not only of Oxford itself but of the Church in England.

Meanwhile it is an auspicious omen that, as We hear, the commencement of the building will take place on August 15, on which

day, being the Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, the Dominican Fathers first took up their residence in Oxford, seven hundred years ago.

We ourselves, as was fitting, on first hearing of your project, congratulated you on the work you proposed taking in hand, and in these letters We renew even more heartily these congratulations, now that the work is advancing towards its accomplishment. We rejoice, moreover, to learn that the work is not only approved but encouraged and liberally assisted by persons of all ranks. Gladly therefore by these words We declare Our good will towards this praiseworthy undertaking, and desire to give encouragement to all those who labour zealously to bring these beginnings to their fulfillment. That this may be happily accomplished, We lovingly impart, as a pledge of heavenly favours to you, Beloved Son, to those persons above mentioned, to your brethren in religion, and to all those that shall be present at the opening celebration, the Apostolic Benediction.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, on the 10th of June, 1921, the seventh year of Our Pontificate.

BENEDICT XV., Pope.

This event happily synchronizes with the sept-centenary of the Dominican Order; and English press utterances indicate an extraordinary change in educated opinion concerning Saint Dominic, St. Thomas, and the Order of Friars Preachers. Time was when "Dominican" connoted an "Inquisitor," and in mid-Victorian days, a certain English writer could allude to St. Dominic as a "harmless lunatic and a raving madman." Today the Friars are the subject of sincere laudations and the sept-centenary of the Order is universally regarded as a significant fact in religion and in learning alike. One of the most notable illustrations of this reversal of view is found in the columns of the London *Times*, whose offices, by the way, now occupy the original site of the early English home of the "Black Friars." The utterances of the *Times* are indicative of the trend of opinion in England. It says:

> All the world knows that this year will see the six hundredth anniversary of the death of Dante. The Pope has reminded us that a month earlier it will see the seven hundredth anniversary of a saint whom the great poet celebrates in one of the most beautiful parts of the divine poem. When the glorified spirit of St. Thomas Aquinas, the Dominican, has sung the praises of St. Francis of Assisi in the heaven of the sun, that of St. Bonaventure, the Franciscan, tells the life and the merits of the founder of the rival Order. "The Providence which governs the world" raised them up, "two Princes," to lead "the Army of Christ" which "was marching slowly after the standards, full of fears and with thinned ranks."
>
> Dominic was conspicuous in two respects in the Church of his time. He took a leading part in the struggle for the suppression of the Albigenses, and he gave his Order that turn for learning which distinguished it at a very critical time in the history of civiliation and of the Latin Church. Dante relates how "in a short space

he made himself a great doctor" to prepare for the contest, and how he "smote among the growths of heresy" with learning and with zeal. He builded better than he knew. He saw, indeed, the necessity of learning in the champions of the Church, if they were to defeat the Albigenses by argument; but he can hardly have foreseen that within fifty years after his death, his disciples were to transform the teaching of the schools in almost every department of speculative thought.

The thirteenth century was an age of intense speculative activity, and at one time the speculation threatened to take a course fatal to the fundamental doctrines of historic Christianity. The doctrines of the Albigenses were a compound of age-long Oriental systems which had wandered from Syria to Bulgaria, from Bulgaria to North Italy, and from North Italy to Provence. But they do not appear to have made much progress outside these regions, and they were easily suppressed after the great nobles of Provence who favoured them had been disarmed. The real danger came from another quarter. It came from the works of the great Arabian philosophers, and particularly from those of Averroës, "who made the great commentary." These works were largely translations and expositions of the treatises of Aristotle, few of which had been known hitherto in the West.

The long pilgrimage and the many translations through which the books of the Stagirite reached the Christian schools, form one of the most curious episodes in the history of literature. Many of them were translated into Arabic for the Caliph of Bagdad, but the translation appears to have been made from a Syriac version of the Greek. Naturally they passed with Arab learning into Spain. There they were given a Latin dress by some of the learned Jews, who found life under the Crescent easier than under the Crusaders. From Spain they reached Paris, where they were eagerly read and debated by men to whom they came as a revelation.

The authority of Aristotle had always been great; it now threatened to become supreme, and supreme in the materialist sense in which the Arab doctors read it. The authorities were profoundly alarmed; again and again it was forbidden to read doctrines so disturbing. But prohibitions could not curb the insatiable thirst for learning. Averroism became a real menace to the Church in Paris, at the time when "the followers of Epicurus, who make the soul to die with the body," were the leaders of intellectual life at the splendid Court of Frederick II, and when they had plenty of disciples such as Cavalcante Cavalcante among the cultivated burghers of Florence and other north Italian cities.

This was the heresy which Thomas Aquinas and his master, Albertus Magnus, assailed and defeated. They borrowed its own weapons. They, too, found their armoury in the newly discovered Aristotle, and they used it with such mastery and such success that, in the twentieth century, we have Pope Benedict XV. proclaiming that through St. Thomas "God truly wished to enlighten His Church." They were terrible innovators, this new school, and their novel teach-

ing much disturbed adherents of the older system. But Pope Gregory IX. had the wisdom to recognize that the new movement could not be suppressed, and that it might be guided into the channels of strict orthodoxy. The prohibition of lectures upon Aristotle was no longer enforced, and the way was left clear for the Christian Aristotelians. The result was the presentation of the whole system of the mediaeval Church in a harness of precise definitions and of closely reasoned logic.

Nobody can turn the leaves of the *Summa contra Gentiles* or of the *Summa Theologica* without being impressed by the genious and by the intellectual honesty of the men who wrote them. He never flinches from difficulties. He states them fully, according to the knowledge of his time; he gives the best answers to them he can; and when he cannot answer them by reason, he owns that they must be accepted on authority. Albertus had written "non perficitur homo in philosophia, nisi scientia duarum philosophiarum, Aristotelis et Platonis"; his disciple takes the same view, though he lays the whole weight of his system upon Aristotle. His great difficulty was to purge out the Averroist leaven which had crept in with the new treatises; but if he could not altogether prove that Aristotle was orthodox, he was at least able to demonstrate that his teaching could be quite as well accommodated to the teaching of the Church as to the fancies of the Arabian thinkers.

To have done this was the great achievement of the "Domini canes," as the old canting name for the Dominicans has it. Averroës prostrate at the feet of St. Thomas is a not infrequent figure, as many of our readers know, in early Italian frescos of the "Doctor Angelicus." He fulfilled, and more than fulfilled, the end for which St. Dominic had founded his Order, but St. Thomas fulfilled it in the new and surprising way appointed him.

The Holy See and the Nations.—Abbot Hunter Blair writing in the *London Universe* regarding the attitude of certain individuals and the English press towards the Holy See, says:

> The curious tradition still to a great extent prevalent among British newspapers, of ignoring the Pope and all his works, and leaving his doings and his policy to be treated of (if at all) by clerical writers in the so-called religious press, finds no counterpart in foreign journalism, whose conductors are perfectly alive to the immense influence of the "Vatican" in world-politics, as is clearly enough shown by the numerous articles appearing week after week in their papers. It was the fashion in England, both during and after the Great War, for writers who ought to have known better to dwell complacently on the "rapid decay," or sometimes the "utter extinction," of such influence as the Pope may have heretofore exercised in the affairs of the world.
>
> An interesting and instructive comment on this assumption is afforded by a single fact—one which has aroused much attention,

during the past year, in other countries than our own, and has been made the subject of many articles in European and American newspapers. This is the remarkable, and indeed extraordinary, extent to which the nations of the world have been tumbling over one another (if the phrase be not a disrespectful one) to secure an adequate representation of their several interests at the Court of Benedict XV. Never, in truth, in the age-long history of the Papacy, has it been in such intimate diplomatic relations with the peoples of both hemispheres—Catholic and non-Catholic.

In the *Atlantic Monthly* for September, Mr. J. L. S. Wood writes:

"Before the war," says Mr. Wood, "the Holy See had diplomatic relations with a dozen states; now it has such relations, either sending a representative or receiving one, or, in the large majority of cases, by sending and receiving, with twenty-five. Quality, too, has increased, as well as quantity. Before the war Rome sent to foreign powers only five nuncios, including those of the second-class, and two internuncios; it received only two ambassadors and twelve ministers, of foreign states. Now it sends out nineteen nuncios and five internuncios, receiving eight ambassadors and seventeen ministers. Governments which had no relations have established them. Governments which had broken off relations have restored them. Governments which had second-class relations have raised them to first-class."

The British Empire has converted its special mission, established in 1914, into a permanent legation. Holland, which in the Spring of 1915 carried through Parliament the proposal to send a representative to the Holy See, on the ground that it was the country's special and vital interest that peace should be brought about as soon as possible, has made its relations permanent, receiving a separate internuncio instead of having a subordinate share in the nuncio at Brussels. Among the governments which had broken off relations with the Vatican and which since the war have restored them, France is the outstanding figure. The German Embassy has replaced the Prussian Legation, and Belgium, Chile, Brazil, and Peru also have raised their legations to the full rank of embassies. Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia, new countries which have risen from the war, have established diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

What is the explanation of this remarkable phenomenon? Why are the governments which, during the war, rejected and despised the Vatican's counsels to peace, now so anxious to get into its good graces?

It will be contended that on the part of some governments the Vatican's good will is sought solely to serve their political purposes in the lands over which they have acquired physical control and where the people give spiritual allegiance to the Pope. This is undoubtedly true in some instances. But the greatly increased influence of the Vatican since the war cannot, we think, be attributed wholly to national selfish considerations. It goes deeper than that. The nations would not be much concerned about bettering their stand with the

Vatican if they did not realize with impressive force that the Vatican has greatly bettered its position with mankind.

There is no mystery about how this was done. When the victors were concerning themselves chiefly over reparations and distribution of the spoils, the Vatican was concerning itself only with the binding up of wounds, the relief of distress, and the administration of spiritual consolation to all who were bereft and sorrowing. Amid the encircling gloom it was the one kindly light.

The Pope was kept away from the peace table but through his fatherly impartiality and his diligence in providing aid and comfort for the living victims of the great catastrophe, he found a welcome in the hearts of all men of good will. And thus his power was increased and his enemies confounded.

Just recently a Deputy of Italy, whose government insisted on the Pope's exclusion from the conference to make peace, lamented in the Italian Chamber that Italy was the only Power of importance in the world that was unrepresented at the Vatican, a condition, he declared, which was most unfortunate for Italy and ought to be remedied. And since then there have been many signs that Italy is disposed to seek better relations with the Vatican.

The world, quite manifestly, is spiritually sick. Never has it been in greater need of spiritual comfort and guidance. Where could it turn more hopefully for these helpful ministrations than to the one power which has survived the political cataclysms of all the centuries past, which has its ground of spiritual authority from Christ, and His pledge of perpetuity?

The Irish Benedictine Dames of Ypres.—On Thursday, September 8, Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, the Church at Kylemore Castle, now an Abbey of Benedictine nuns, was blessed by the Most Rev. Dr. Gilmartin, Archbishop of Tuam, and dedicated to the Sacred Heart. This event marked the permanent establishment in Ireland of the Irish Benedictine Dames of Ypres.

The first Irish Abbess of the Abbey at Ypres was Dame Mary Joseph Butler, who was born in Kilkenny in 1641. Sent to be educated at Ghent by the English Benedictine Dames, she petitioned, at the age of twelve, to be received into the Order, and made her religious profession in 1657 at the English Benedictine Convent at Boulogne at the age of sixteen. When the foundation was made at Ypres in 1665, it failed to prosper under its first Abbess, Dame Beaumont, and in 1682 the house was converted into a national foundation for the Irish Benedictine nuns of various houses founded from Ghent. Dame Butler was instrumental in founding the Benedictine Convent at Dublin, in which King James II took so great an interest. She traveled to Ireland, and opened a school for about thirty girls. Later, the convent was sacked by the soldiery of William III, and Dame Butler returned to Ypres, where she died in 1723. Whilst passing through London on her way to Dublin, Dame Butler was presented with her nuns in their Benedictine habit to the Queen at Whitehall. On her

return to Ypres she resumed her former duties as Abbess under conditions of extreme poverty. She died in the sixty-sixth year of her religious profession.

For more than two centuries and a half the Ypres convent was regarded affectionately by the Irish people as a sort of outpost of Ireland on the Continent enshrining historic memories glorious as well as sad. In his sermon at the dedication of the chaptel at Kylemore, Dr. Gilmartin said that this Order did not seem ever to have acquired a permanent home in Ireland until the German guns shelled the Abbey at Ypres in October, 1914. He recalled that an Irish general named Moran saved the convent from desecration and destruction during the French Revolution. It was the only convent that survived the Revolution in Flanders. The story of their leaving under shell fire in 1914 has been told in an interesting volume published in 1916. A temporary home was secured for the nuns in Macmine, Co. Wexford, where they were treated most kindly by the Bishop of Ferns. In seeking a permanent abode they finally secured Kylemore Castle, one of the wonders of the West of Ireland—a fairy palace in the Connemara Highlands.

Kylemore Castle is located in a spot of rare beauty chosen as the site of his dream-dwelling by Mr. Mitchell-Henry, the son of a rich merchant of Manchester. Through its two principal owners, Mitchell-Henry and the Duke of Manchester—whose wife was a daughter of the late Eugene Zimmerman—America can claim associations with Kylemore.

Mitchell-Henry built the church as a place of divine worship for his own family, for all whose members the priests and people of the district had the greatest esteem. Dr. Gilmartin adverting to this during the course of his sermon said: "If Mr. Henry could express his wish today he would prefer to see the beautiful church handed over to the Irish Dames of Ypres rather than see it left untenanted and voiceless."

The *Times* Educational Supplement has the following sympathetic comment on the subject:

> Residential schools for Roman Catholic girls in Ireland have, as a rule, been convent schools under the direction of the Bishop. It is somewhat of a novelty, therefore, to find a school opened on the well-known Benedictine lines. The Irish Benedictine nuns are transferring the school opened at Ypres in the seventeenth century to a new home at Kylemore Castle, in Connemara. Anyone who has seen that place of romantic loveliness must feel kindly towards the new venture. Loreto Convent at Killarney has a situation of equal beauty, but when we think of school after school for Irish boys, one high on the Dublin mountains, another guarding the lakes at Enniskillen, a third lonely among the Comeragh ranges, and many another, it must be admitted that Irish girls have had much less than their fair share of that education in the love of Nature which Ireland offers in such abundance.

The Catholic University of America and Dante.—The Right Rev. Monsignor John T. Slattery of Albany, the author of a notable work on Dante,

represented the Catholic University of America at the Dante sex-centenary celebration held at Ravenna, Italy.

Monsignor Slattery is president of the Dante Memorial Association and in its name presented to the National Committee for the Restoration of Dante's Tomb the sum of $1,000, collected through the efforts of the Catholic University and members of the Association.

This sum would have been larger had it not been judged prudent to merge the work of the Association in that of the National Dante Association in order to avoid overlapping.

During the sessions of the Sisters' Summer School at the Catholic University, the Right Rev. Thomas J. Shahan delivered a lecture to four hundred students on "The Religious Influence of Dante and His Place in the Development of Catholic Philosophy, Poetry and Art."

Dr. Joseph Dunn, professor of the Gaelic language and literature at the Catholic University, will soon publish an exhaustive study of Irish antecedents of Dante, showing to what extent medieval Irish religious thought and life affected the structure and temper of the *Divine Comedy*. Many who have read Dr. Dunn's scholarly study on St. Brendan in the middle ages anticipated a treat for students of Dante and medieval Ireland in this forthcoming work.

Bishop Shahan is a member of a committee of distinguished citizens of Washington who planned a national celebration of the sixth centenary of the poet's death during October. The Dante collection in the University library numbers already over one thousand volumes, mostly modern critical tests of Dante and the best studies of the last fifty years. Bishop Maurice F. Burke of St. Joseph, Bishop William Turner of Buffalo, Bishop Shahan and Monsignor Henry A. Brann of New York have been generous contributors to his collection. Among its treasures is a copy of the folio edition of John Da Seravali's Latin translation of the *Divine Comedy*, executed at the request of two English bishops early in the 15th century in order that the poem might be better appreciated and known in England. Leo XIII had this rare manuscript published and through the Rev. Dr. John A. Zahm, C. S. C., then provincial of the Congregation of the Holy Cross, a copy was presented to the University library.

The Pontifical Biblical Institute.—The Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome was founded by Pope Pius X, and its erection dates from the Apostolic Letter, *Vinea Electa*, of May 7, 1909; hence the vine-cluster which appears upon the publications of the Institute. The vine-cluster forms part of the arms of the late Pontiff, and the "elect vine," said the Holy Father, "represents Holy Scripture which we have been striving by every means at our disposal to render more fruitful, both to the pastors of the Church and to the faithful."

The Institute, which the Holy Father entrusted to the direction of the Jesuits, has now ten professors, two of whom are English-speaking, Father J. O'Rourke (American), and Father Edmund Power (Irish). The present Rector of the Institute is Father A. Fernandez, formerly professor of Sacred Scripture at St. Beuno's College, North Wales. The Institute

is installed in Piazza Pilotta, Rome, near Santi XII Apostoli, beneath the slope of the Quirinal.

The work of the Institute includes lectures on all Biblical subjects and Oriental languages. It is empowered to confer on its students the baccalaureate, and in the name of the Biblical Commission, the degree of licentiate in Sacred Scripture. Conferences, to which all students are incited are given at various intervals during the year, in Spanish, Italian, German, French and English.

Since its foundation the Institute has published some forty volumes, one of the latest being the learned work of Dr. Henry Schumacher of the Catholic University of America. The publications are admirably edited, and, as a rule, accurate to a jot despite the fact of the many foreign languages in which they are written. Most of the published works appeal chiefly to students and scholars, but its minor publications look to the immediate needs of the faithful, e. g., a Synoptic version of the Gospels in Polish, and a Gospel for the little ones in Italian, with illustrations from the paintings of Fra Angelico.

Significant Statistics.—The Rev. Willard Dayton Brown, secretary of the Educational Board of the Reformed Church in America, addressing the 115th Annual Synod of the Church, at Asbury Park, N. J., on June 3, made the statement that there are now 35,000 churches in the country without pastors. He also stated that there are about 5,000 students in the theological seminaries of all churches, of which number about 1,450 graduate this year. Some time previously Bishop William Lawrence, addressing the Massachusetts Convention of the Episcopal Church said: "mixing business with the ministry was causing a lowering of efficiency among clergymen" and he deplored the "fact that clergymen are taking up outside work to eke out their living." He suggested that these clergymen give up their activities or leave the pulpit altogether for they cannot combine the two, "for in attempting to do this a clerygman claims the privileges of both the business man and the clergyman." By way of comment on the Bishop's statement, the *Literary Digest* says: "What else are ministers to do to save themselves from absolute poverty?"

The ministerial situation in the non-Catholic field generally is evidently serious. The Rev. E. Guy Talbot, writing recently in the *Christian Work* states that the largest denomination in the United States today has one-fourth of all its pulpits manned by "supplies"—men who are not regular ministers. Another denomination, he reports, has 20,000 pulpits vacant; a third had more than 3,300 without pastoral care; and in still another, there were 1,000 fewer ministers than in 1914. Mr. Talbot assigns as the chief reason for the shortage the lack of graduates from theological seminaries. An investigation of 3,500 ministers in one denomination shows, according to Mr. Talbot's statement, that only one-half of them had a college education and that only one-fourth had both college and seminary training.

A survey of conditions in the Catholic Church, whose membership, according to the Official *Catholic Directory* (published by P. J. Kennedy

& Sons, New York) is now 17,885,646 reveals a situation which is quite the opposite of that found in the other denominations. It gives the following data regarding the activities of the church and indicates that, unlike the Protestant bodies, it is making rapid and substantial progress in every direction. The number of priests engaged in the ministry, parochial and otherwise, is 21,643; students in seminaries, 8,281; churches with resident pastors, 10,790; missions with churches, 5,790. This evidences notable development in church activities.

The following table offers a statement of the progress of Catholicism in the United States for the past five years:

	1916	1918	1921
Number of clergy	19,572	20,477	21,643
Students in seminaries	6,200	7,238	8,291
Churches with resident pastors	10,058	10,369	10,790
Missions with churches	5,105	5,448	5,790

It should be noted that there are no "unordained" clergy engaged in the ministry of the Catholic Church. Every Catholic pastor must be a priest who has had not only collegiate but seminary training the latter extending over a period of four years, though occasionally owing to diocesan needs some priests have been ordained at the end of a three-year seminary course.

Mr. Talbot also states that the conditions found in the denominations to which he refers have been brought about by an "economic boycott" which means that ministers are not paid adequate salaries. He gives an analysis of the salaries paid to ministers, from reports of the secretaries of the denominations, and says: "it seems hardly appropriate for the church to talk much about industrial injustice when it treats its own employees in this shameful way * * * the preacher must live on less than half of what the Government has established as a living wage." And adds: "this is not a picture very alluring to young men, and the boycott of the church members against the ministry is having its effect; if this un-Christian boycott is not soon lifted the Christian Church will lose that prestige that it has enjoyed in the past."

The Catholic Church evidently does not experience any boycotting. From reports gathered in various quarters since the opening of the Catholic colleges and seminaries this year we find that they are filled to repletion, and, in several instances, students have been refused admission owing to lack of accommodation. This is true not only of Catholic colleges and seminaries in the United States; similar conditions exist in Canada.

Honors for a Great Historian.—The elevation of Monsignor Baudrillart, Rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, to the episcopate is a high distinction for a great historian. In conferring this distinction the Pope has not only rewarded one of the most eminent prelates of the French clergy, but one of the most brilliant minds of the Catholic Church today.

Awarded the highest university degrees which can be given in France, and having attained the highest honor to which a Frenchman of letters can aspire—membership in the French Academy—Monsignor Baudrillart

also enjoys a position in the first rank of orators and historians of the present time. His successes may in a measure be ascribed to the fact that he comes from a family of scholars. His grandfather, Silvestre de Sacy, was not only a statesman, but a famous writer and orientalist, the original promoter of Arabic studies in France. His father, Henri Baudrillart, was a distinguished economist, and he has a brother who is a famous professor.

Monsignor Baudrillart is now in his sixty-second year, and was a professor before he entered the priesthood. He was educated partly in religious institutions and partly in the official universities, winning the highest degrees, including the aggregate in marks for History and the doctorate in letters. This entitled him to a chair History in the government *lycées*. He taught in several institutions in the provinces before he was called to Paris. He was thirty-two years old when he decided to enter the priesthood; was received at the Oratory, and three years later he was ordained and became Doctor of Theology. After his ordination he was appointed professor at the Catholic Institute of Paris. In 1889, he was made assistant superior-general of the Oratorians. In 1907, when Mgr. Pochenard became Bishop of Soissons, Father Baudrillart took his place as rector of the Catholic Institute. In 1918, he was elected a member of the French Academy, where he took the place of Albert de Mun.

For more than a quarter of a century Monsignor Baudrillart has been identified with Catholic literary and social life in France; and as chairman of the Committee of French and Foreign Amity has done much to strengthen and maintain Catholic international relations. He is well known in the United States, as he visited this country in an official capacity, having represented the French Government on the occasion of Cardinal Gibbons' Jubilee two years ago. Last year he presided at a reception given the Knights of Columbus at the Catholic Institute in Paris and was one of the patrons of the committee to assemble the foreign students at Catholic schools and colleges in Paris.

Monsignor Baudrillart is a most prolific writer, among his major works being: *Quatre cents ans de concordat; Histoire generale; Vie de Mgr. d'Hulst; Histoire ancienne, Orient, Grece, Rome; Histoire de France et notions d'histoire generale; Le renovellement intellectuel du clerge de France au XIXe siècle; Dictionnaire d'histoire et de geographie ecclesiastique; L'Eglise Catholique, la Renaissance, et le Protestantisme*, which has been translated into English by Mrs. Gibbs. The last mentioned is one of his most interesting studies. It discusses in a masterly manner to what extent the Renaissance was identified in certain countries with the Protestant movement. Cogently and clearly he refutes the contention that Protestantism has always been tolerant and more favorable than Catholicism to moral and spiritual progress. He points out the ruins accumulated and the anarchy unchained by the Reformation in the intellectual, social, and political order. This volume is decidedly impartial; and the author says in his preface: "I have never had any liking for evasions, nor for what it has been agreed to call pious lies. The Catholic Church needs nothing but the truth and is able to endure the whole truth. It was thus

that Bossuet understood history—an exact and accurate table of facts, inspired with the love of Catholic truth."

It is this passion for truth coupled with real erudition and conscientious labor which has made Monsignor Baudrillart an authority among all scientific men, one whose prestige has rendered brilliant service to the Catholic Church. The scholarly merits of this erudite prelate naturally led to his advancement. His ambition, however, is not to occupy a high place in the hierarchy, for his desire is to remain where he can best serve the church, by speech, by writings, and above all by the great work of education and by training a Catholic intellectual *élite*.

An Appeal to Historians.—Dr. W. Romaine Newbold, of the University of Pennsylvania, through whose courtesy we are enabled to offer readers of the Review a facsimile of a page of the Bacon cypher, writes us:

July 21, 1921.

My Dear Doctor:

When your letter arrived I had no suitable print on hand but I have had one made which will, I hope, prove to be what you wanted. It is not a good example of the symbolism characteristic of the MS but is of unusual interest because of its subject matter, "The Descent of the Souls From Heaven." The "awning" at the top, painted blue and yellow in the original, represents, I think, heaven. The souls fall through a dark channel, one is prone, apparently in a stupor, another is blind and feels her way with a stick. At the lower right they are shown coming to a consciousness of their change of scene (probably the cavern in which they are depicted is intended to represent a uterus). The photograph is very nearly the actual size of the MS. page, (9x6 inches).

I would be much indebted to you if you could put me in touch with a few Catholic scholars, interested in Bacon and familiar with 13th century science, who would be willing to join in this work. Systematic work on the MS. cannot be undertaken until it has been sold and funds provided for the preparation of accurate photographs, but I hope that will be done before very long and there is ample room for all who care to work on it. Much remains to be done before it can be read with confidence and the translation will occupy the time of many students for years.

Sincerely yours,

W. Romaine Newbold.

The Church in Jugo-Slavia.—Catholics of Jugo-Slavia are endeavoring to collect funds in their own war-ravaged country for the erection of a worthy Catholic temple in Belgrade, and in this undertaking they are receiving generous support from the clergy and laity of other countries in Europe and of the United States.

In accordance with the wishes of the Holy Father, who has blessed and promoted the endeavor, the new church is to be dedicated to the Apostles SS. Cyril and Methodius, by whom the Slav peoples were converted to Christianity in the ninth century. Following the example of His Holiness, several European prelates have sent contributions, while some of the most distinguished members of the American Episcopacy have likewise given their hearty approval and assistance to an essentially Catholic effort in behalf of a country for which the Protestant churches of America are doing a great deal.

Never has the Catholic Church had a fairer opportunity of spreading the light of her teaching among a people to whom she has been an unknown quantity as a spiritual force. To give her a fitting home for the Blessed Sacrament in a non-Catholic city is an enterprise which, it is felt, will appeal to all Catholics.

Jugo-Slavia, or the new kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, which unites that chivalrous and intrepid little kingdom of Serbia to all the Southern Slav Provinces which were formerly under Austrian rule, is a state which numbers some six million Catholics out of a total population of eleven millions. Thus, the Orthodox Serbs are being brought for the first time into close contact with Slav members of the Church which an insidious propaganda had endeavored to represent as hostile to Slav ideals and national aspirations.

If the Serbs had no love for the Catholic Church in the past it was due not so much to religious prejudices as to the political intrigues of their foe. But today the Orthodox Serbs realize with their Slav Catholic brethren that the Church is universal and has never been bound up with any one nationality or country to the exclusion of another. Indeed, the magnificient attitude of the Slav Catholic clergy during the war contributed greatly to make non-Catholics understand this and, consequently, it is not surprising that Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats and Slovenes have united politically for the common good of the Southern Slav people.

The new republic of Jugo-Slavia which has arisen from this union of the three branches of a people long kept apart, presents the unique example today of two established state churches. Whether it is advantageous or not from a spiritual point of view that there should be state churches is a different matter, but the fact remains that the Catholic Church has obtained equal rights with the Orthodox in a country whose capital, Belgrade, has always been known as an essentially Orthodox city.

Yet, Belgrade, or the "White City," has had glorious Christian traditions, and the soil which has been hallowed by the blood of St. John Capistran and other martyrs in the struggle between the Cross and the Crescent bids fair to become some day a rallying point for all Catholic Slavs.

Melrose Abbey.— During the course of some work being done recently to preserve the ruins of the apsis of the abbey church at Melrose a discovery was made which recalls one of the most romantic episodes in history of this famed monastic institution. A leaden casket was found, in which was a silver box containing the embalmed remains of a human heart which is said to be the heart of Robert

the Bruce, the Patriot King of Scotland. Legend has woven a romantic story about the heart of Robert the Bruce; and Sir Walter Scott has enshrined his memory in song and story. Scott's home (Abbotsford) is within short distance of Melrose Abbotsford Abbey.

The heart of Bruce has had strange adventures. After a career of struggle and conflict with the English which lasted for nearly a quarter of a century, Bruce, who was a victim of leprosy died at Cardross Castle on the northern shore of the Firth of Clyde, June 7, 1329. He had vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but died before he could fulfill his vow, and consequently he intrusted Sir James Douglas with the mission of having his heart extracted and embalmed to be conveyed to Jerusalem and entombed there. Douglas was killed fighting against the Moors in Spain, and the sacred relic of Bruce, with the body of the devoted champion, was brought to Scotland and buried in the monastery of Melrose. Bruce's body was interred in the abbey church of Dumferline.

Melrose Abbey, in Roxburgshire, founded by King David I, was the earliest Cistercian monastery established in Scotland. It stood in a broad glen south of the Tweed, two miles distant from the Celtic monastery of old Melrose, where St. Cuthbert had lived five centuries before. Melrose Abbey suffered greatly from hostile English incursions; the soldiers of Edward II desecrated, pillaged, and burned the church; Richard II laid waste the surrounding country and set fire to the abbey. The stately church for which the abbey was famed was begun by the generosity of Robert the Bruce. Many of the abbots of Melrose were men of distinction: Abbot Waltheof (1148), stepson of David I, and honored as a saint; Abbot Joscelin, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow (1175), took a prominent part in the erection of the fine cathedral of that city, as a shrine for the body of St. Mungo; Abbot Robert (1268) had been formerly Chancellor of Scotland; Abbot Andrew (1449) became Lord High Treasurer; many others were raised to the episcopate. The English troops of Henry VIII burned Melrose in 1544; and the ruins were further devastated by a fanatical mob in 1569, when statues and carvings were ruthlessly destroyed; but more wanton still was the subsequent carting away of the sacred stones to serve as building materials. The result is seen in the religious emblems still seen as decorations in some of the houses in the district. The possessions of the abbey came to the Buccleuch family.

An interesting historical document, known as the *Chronica de Mailros* containing a rich store of data exists in the British Museum. There are also hundreds of charters and royal writs, dating from the reign of David I to that of Bruce illustrating the social life and economy of the period. These were edited by Cosmo Innes, the distinguished Scotch antiquarian in 1865.

A New Zealand Pronouncement on the Labor Movement.—The *New Zealand Tablet*, the foremost Catholic newspaper in the Antipodes, replying to a censure received at the hands of certain extremists in the councils of the labor unions, says editorially:

> It is the extreme views of certain Labor agitators that we object to. And the reason we object to them is because they are subversive of all social and moral well-being and unsound in principle and application. . . . We advocate the people's liberties and rights, and we set ourselves against tyranny no matter from what source it comes. That much we have in com-

mon with all Socialists, but there is a line beyond which we can never go with them; and we are stayed exactly because we stand for the rights not of class but of mankind, and for the freedom, not of one department of life, but of life in its fullest meaning—life of soul as well as of body. We can have no praise for those Laborites who would turn a plutocratic despotism into a Socialist despotism and destroy Christian virtues among men. The writings of Marx, Bebel, Lassalle, and Liebknecht are rank with the odor of infidelity and hate for Christianity. Their doctrines are preached in Labor organs and by Labor orators over the whole world, leading men and women into an intellectual and moral captivity such as has not been known since the creation of the world. The extreme views work their way cunningly into the hearts of honest men, and wherever they gain a footing all restraints of religion are cast aside, and while there is abundant talk of rights, duties are neglected. Extreme Laborites declare war against God, but at the same time they make an idol of the State, giving it unlimited powers over the individual and the family. As long as Labor allows even the reflection of such principles to find a place in its press, so long can Catholics have no part with the people who tolerate such things.

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